HOW BRITAIN CAN INVADE THE CONTINENT *by Colonel T.*

NEW MASSES

FIFTEEN CENTS A COPY AUGUST 12, 1941

THEY SABOTAGE DEFENSE

The ugly story of the corporations that stall production
By Julian Webb

SOVIET ECONOMIC POWER

A report on the industrial machine behind the Red Army

SHOLOKHOV

A cable from the famous Soviet writer and a review of his epic work, "The Silent Don," by Samuel Sillen

HOW I FEEL ABOUT THE WAR

Communications from Emil Lengyel, Ralph Barton Perry, Henry Epstein, Max Weber, Walter Pach, and Samuel Ornitz

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Between Ourselves

MANY readers have written enthusiastic letters about the Soviet victory song in our last issue, "If Tomorrow Brings War." In response to their requests, we are printing a number of additional verses:

Verse II

If tomorrow brings war and our Socialist land
From the Black Sea to Arctic assembles,
In their courage and strength the whole people will stand
Till with terror the routed foe trembles.

(Chorus)

O'er the land, in the sky, on the ocean
In stern voices this slogan declared—
If tomorrow brings war,
If tomorrow the clash,
Be today for the battle prepared.

Verse III

Then the airplanes will soar, then machine guns will flash,
And the battleships plunge, ensigns streaming;
Beside lorry-filled roadways the huge tanks will crash,
And the infantry's bay'nets pass gleaming.

Verse IV

War was never our wish, "To defend" our command
Though beyond our own borders we go;
The decision will come on the enemy's land;
Scant the bloodshed but mighty our blow.

Verse V

So stretch forth Soviet might, be prepared, we shall win!
Louder drums! Fill the heavens with thunder!
Go musicians ahead! Come brave singers begin!
To triumphant song rend foes asunder!

Verse VI

Let them plot, let them rage; on all earth there's no force
That can crush Soviet power that has freed us.
We have Stalin for guide, and through battle's grim course
Voroshilov to vict'ry to lead us!

After reading Ernest Moorer's article, "Governor Talmadge Rides Again," a reader who signs himself (or herself) "Georgian," writes from Atlanta: "Southerners are often accused of being 'techy' about their native region, and it's well known down here that the 'War Between the States' goes on *within* the South as well as between regions, what with Virginia aristocracy snubbing the Mississippi brand, and the South Carolina Old Families sneering at the 'Texas ranchers.' So I hesitate to defend my own state too vociferously. Just the same the Talmadge affair (and the publicity it got and deserved) has stung my state pride—or maybe just my pride as an American—enough to move me to emphasize the fact, which you of course know, that a great many Georgians are as repelled by Fuehrer 'Gene' as you are. It was bad enough to be known as the state that produced *Gone With the Wind* without being identified with a present-day Ku Kluxer. (Incidentally, I wonder if Miss Margaret Mitchell, author of *GWTW*, who wrote with such horror of the Reconstruction government of Georgia, will now do us another book on Georgia rule, substituting Talmadge and his boys for the 'damnyankees.') Anyway, we have something that was there in the *Gone* days too—a sturdy backbone of honest, poor, and some not-so-poor folk who aren't any more taken in by Talmadge's 'white supremacy' ranting than by Scarlett O'Hara heroics. That's the Georgia, that's the South that *I'm* proud of."

And the following note from a reader in Puerto Rico does our heart good: "So many of my friends on this poverty stricken island can hardly read that for the past several weeks I have undertaken to spend every Wednesday night going over your magazine with a group of fifteen men and women. I translate each line of your editorials and particularly the articles on the Soviet Union and the fight against the Nazis. You can't imagine how eager and hungry people here are for information—particularly information that reflects their desires and needs. Some of them are saving their hard-earned pennies to get copies of the Dean of Canterbury's *Soviet Power*. So in between reading from NM I expect that I will have to be translating from the Dean's book. My group sends its best regards and deepest appreciation for the work you are doing."

Who's Who

JULIAN WEBB is a free lance writer and research worker in the field of national affairs. . . . Claude Cockburn was editor of the internationally known newsletter, *The Week*. He has also served as Washington correspondent of the London *Times*. . . . Mikhail Sholokhov, whose epic two-volume work, *The Silent Don*, is reviewed by Samuel Sillen on page twenty-four of this issue, is one of the most famous of present-day Soviet writers. . . . Norman O'Hara, who appears for the first time in NM, is a young free lance writer who was born in Alabama but has lived in several other Southern states. He is especially familiar with progressive movements in the Deep South. . . . Colonel T. is the pseudonym of a former army officer, and writer on military affairs. . . . Herbert Aptheker has written several books about the Negro's historic role in America, including: *The Negro in the Civil War*, *The Negro in the American Revolution*, and *Negro Slave Revolts in the United States*.

Flashbacks

IN HIS last published writing, Friedrich Engels, who died in England on Aug. 5, 1895, said: "Above all let the oppressed close up their ranks and reach out their hands to each other across the boundary lines of every nation. Let the international proletariat develop and organize until the beginning of the new century shall lead it on to victory." . . . Memo to those reactionaries who find it hard to relinquish their "Communazi" myth: On Aug. 9, 1932, when Hitler's Nazis were reported arming for a march on Berlin, 1,500 policemen raided, not the Nazis, but a Communist meeting in Hamburg.

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NEW MASSES
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DOLLAR-A-YEAR BOTTLENECKS

The ugly tale of the men and the corporations whose patriotism spells profits and not defense. Why there are shortages of materials and delays in deliveries. What the monopolies are doing.

DURING the last war Pres. Eugene C. Grace of Bethlehem Steel was quoted as saying: "Patriotism is a beautiful sentiment but it must not be permitted to interfere with business." (He got a bonus of $2,887,725 in 1917-18.) Today the industrialists are still echoing Mr. Grace, and demanding "Business as usual!" Such attitudes, coupled with pro-fascist appeasement policies and open relationships with representatives of the Axis powers, have characterized dominant segments of American business, resulting in costly sabotage of national defense.

Unfortunately, members of the government defense boards have all too willingly acquiesced in this interference with the defense program. They have backed the industrialists' obstructive demands—as in the case of John D. Biggers, OPM's director of production—by whitewashing "industrialists who have refused to do business with the government" until Congress should provide legislation translating "war equipment into satisfactory profits." Some of the facts about defense sabotage have already been exposed by NEW MASSES and the labor press. However, more information has become available during the last few weeks. It may be premature to sense a new trend in the departure of such leading "defense" figures as S. R. Fuller, president of North American Rayon and the American Bemberg Corporations,[1] Walter S. Tower, president of the Iron & Steel Institute, and Gano Dunn, president of J. G. White Engineering Corp., long-time TVA foe and apologist for the steel industry. But their leaving provides a good occasion to survey some of the defense obstructions in the months leading up to June 22—a natural dividing line in the development of defense as well as in the history of the world.

CONCRETELY, how has business sabotage of national defense manifested itself during this period? Some of the principal channels have included the cornering of raw materials, price-fixing conspiracies, international patent monopolies, rejection of government orders and necessary plant expansion, blunt refusals of industry to take part in the furtherance of the national welfare, while conducting campaigns to smash labor organizations.

The basic ingredients of any defense system are the raw materials of industry. The willful failure of industry to supply these raw materials in adequate quantities has proved the greatest hindrance to the defense program. The forces that stop the flow of raw materials into the factories stop the whole defense program as effectively as legions of saboteurs. A survey made by *Mill Supplies* several weeks ago reports that seventy-eight percent of manufacturers responding had been forced to delay deliveries. The most "serious delays" were said to be due to failure to obtain necessary raw materials.

The ugly tale of the Mellon interests' monopolistic restraints on the production of aluminum is now too well known to need repeating. It may be summed up in the words of Secretary Ickes: "When the story of this war comes to be written, if it has to be written that it was lost, it may be because of the recalcitrance of the Aluminum Co. of America." Senator La Follette, in a Senate speech on May 19, referred to the fall of France as due to "monopolistic practices through a world-wide cartel which curtailed the aluminum available to her for her national defense." He spoke of the Aluminum Co.'s role in the United States in these words:

> Because of the monopolistic practices of this corporation, because of its determination that there should be no competition, because of its policy of high prices and low production and no competition, additional unnecessary dislocations of our economy are present today in our defense program.

It is interesting here to mention the plan put forward by the Aluminum Workers of America, and endorsed by the CIO. According to the report publicized by CIO President Murray, the Mellon monopoly could break the bottleneck caused by the company by exploiting the Arkansas deposits of bauxite. These huge reserves could provide as much as a billion pounds additional aluminum a year. But the company refuses to act.

Moreover, Senator O'Mahoney, in stating that the aluminum industry has not yet responded "to the defense needs of the country because apparently it has been keeping supplies down in order to keep prices up," could have extended the same stricture to other greedy hoarders of defense substances. For example, consider the cases of beryllium, magnesium, so-called hard metal, sulphur, and tin.

Beryllium's aviation value lies in its extremely light weight. Just ten months ago a report of the Senate Interstate Commerce Committee proposing a defense investigation spoke of the "patent pools and agreements existing between the American and German firms who apparently jointly control the production of beryllium." Said the report:

> [It is indicated that] one of the great German trusts had employed a second American corporation to take out American beryllium patents on behalf of the German trust, and that subsequently cross-licensing agreements were arranged between the German trust and the first American corporation, in addition to marketing agreements and an exchange of royalties. . . . It may be impossible to determine to what extent international pressures or controls in this industry are affecting United States airplane production.

Incidentally, according to the press, one of the large interests in the Beryllium Corp. is now held by John Hay Whitney, chairman of the board of Pan American Airways and member of the staff of Nelson A. Rockefeller, Defense Coordinator of Commercial and Cultural Relations Among the American Republics.

Hard metal is perhaps even more important to defense than beryllium—it is used extensively in cutting tools for shipbuilding, aviation, and munitions industries. Says the same Senate report:

> . . . American interests are said to have entered into an agreement with a German trust which fixed minimum prices for hard metal composition. . . . Pursuant to this agreement, burdensome restrictive clauses were allegedly inserted into the contracts of American licensees and production quotas were established. . . . Thereafter the price rose as high as $453 per pound. . . . [One month before the date of the report] the price of hard metal composition is said to have ranged up approximately $205 per pound, as compared with manufacturing costs of approximately $25 per pound.

This may be only a case of profiteering, but the line between profiteering and sabotage becomes ever thinner in a national emergency.

Magnesium is an easily worked substance, important to the aviation and military industries because, like beryllium, it is lighter than aluminum. The scientists abbreviate magnesium by the symbol *Mg*. In this scientific shorthand the "M" might well have stood for Mellon and the "g" for Germany. Judge for yourself by this excerpt from the Senate Report:

> The principal American producer of magnesium is reported to depend in part on licenses obtained from an American corporation, half of whose stock is said to be owned by a German chemical trust and half by the dominant American aluminum interests which produce the competing (though heavier) substance. It has been charged that the American corporation which controlled the supply of magnesium for the United States, agreed with a German corporation to produce only 2,000

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tons while the German corporation was permitted to produce 10,000 tons a year. Another American corporation which formerly produced magnesium, though it has now apparently ceased to do so, is said to be owned half by the same rival aluminum interests and half by a corporation affiliated or associated with foreign interests including German interests.

The Aluminum Co., and other companies referred to in the report, were indicted under the charge of conspiring to restrict and control the magnesium industry in violation of the anti-trust laws. Thereafter Alcoa announced that it had bought out its German partner. "Mg," therefore, may now be abbreviated to "M," meaning magnesium, Mellon, and monopoly.

Sulphur, according to a government expert, is "vital in the national defense at present. There is no substitute for it in certain uses." Another authority has claimed that "sulphuric acid . . . is the narrowest and at the same time most vital bottleneck of modern industry." (Part V, TNEC Hearings.) But the principal world sources of sulphur are concentrated under control of Italian and American monopolists. There are only some six or seven sulphur plants in the United States, the chief of which for years have been operating under pooling agreements with Italian interests. The price of sulphur has remained rigid for the past seventeen years at about $18 per ton, though production costs probably do not exceed one-third of this figure, which brings producers a net profit of about sixty-two percent on the sales price. The Texas Corp., whose board chairman, Capt. Torkild Rieber, was active in enforcing the oil blockade against the Spanish loyalists while supplying the fascists, and who chummed with the notorious Dr. Westrick, Nazi trade envoy to Wall Street, has reaped a handsome return from this important defense substance. The oil company has received as high as seventy percent of one of the largest sulphur producer's profits as royalties on leased land.

There are practically no deposits of tin in the United States, though this metal is necessary in the building of airplanes, warships, tanks, and most military explosives. A European tin cartel controls world production, smelting, prices, and sales quotas, with American tin needs at the mercy of the cartel. When it was first proposed to establish smelting facilities in this country to supply defense needs, this proposal was held up for months by tin specialists in the Defense Commission who had been associated with firms allied with the European cartel. It is hard to escape the conclusion that the determining factor here was primarily a concern lest US tin expansion infringe upon cartel dominance and supply of the world market.[2]

Monopolistic corners and restrictions such as these can amount, in effect, to sabotage. This proved true in the last war, as was emphasized by Circuit Court Judge Wooley in the *Chemical Foundation* case. Judge Wooley wrote:

[Certain] concerns cornered the market in coal-tar products that were convertible into explosives in order to hamper the manufacture of munitions. Their achievements in acquiring essential chemicals were regarded by the German Government authorities as equivalent to the destruction of a train of 400 cars loaded with explosives.

Of course, a form of sabotage more effective than limiting or destroying the supply of raw materials is to export them directly to the fascists themselves. Last year $23,000,000 of machine tools went to Japan, a decline of only four percent from the pre-defense annual total. The export of oils and certain types of gasoline to Japan is a scandal. It is generally known that steel scrap has gone to the fascists of Europe and Asia, but not so well known is the fact (shown by Department of Commerce figures) that last year Italy got one-third as much US scrap steel as England, while Japan got only eight-tenths of one percent less than England. Last year 30,000,000 pounds of zinc went to Japan—four times as much as in 1939. Shipments of 240,000,000 pounds of copper (more than ninety-nine percent of the previous year's shipments) went to prolong Japan's aggression against China.

Hiked-up prices and price-fixing conspiracies have the effect of sabotage, for every price rise sharply reduces the number of units which the government may procure with a given appropriation. A million dollars will buy 1,000 defense units at $1,000, only 500 at $2,000, only 100 at $10,000, and so on. Examples of price-gouging may be found in commodities ranging from shoes, to ships, to steel, if not sealing wax.

The shoe industry some time ago succeeded in edging out of the shoe procurement division of the defense purchasing organization Frank M. Folsom, a former Montgomery Ward executive whose money-saving innovations had angered the industry. His successor was former Gov. Francis P. Murphy of New Hampshire, director of a New England shoe factory. Under Murphy's regime prices promptly mounted by fifteen percent. Soon the average price of Army shoes had risen as much as thirty-eight percent. Only seventy-two pairs of shoes could thus be obtained for a sum which a short time before would have provided one hundred pairs. Nor was this the only effect; the government's new price scales furnished justification for general price rises to consumers of from five to fifteen cents a pair—a levy of from $20,000,000 to $60,000,000 on the nation's annual shoe bill.

The same gouging process has been going on in the shipbuilding industry. Testimony of ranking admirals before Senate committees has established that the Navy used to buy destroyers at from $1,500,000 to $2,000,000 each—now they cost from $6,000,000 to $8,000,000, or about four times as much. In 1923 the 35,000-ton battleship *West Virginia* cost $26,800,000 to build. The Navy estimates that shipbuilders would now charge more than three times as much (about $87,300,000) for a ship of the same tonnage. Army housing costs have doubled and redoubled. While it used to cost $350 per man to provide housing for troops, the cost now averages $500 and in some cases has gone up to $900 and $1,000 per man. As for steel, the TNEC reported in February that the government also gets badly handled by the steel producers when it goes, hat-in-hand, to the industry. Large private buyers get price concessions amounting to a fifty percent discount on list prices, but the government has been made to pay the full price.

Sabotage may be a mild word for the actions of some of the country's largest corporations against the national defense. Consider, for example, the testimony given the Senate on last August 14 by Rear Admiral W. R. Furlong. He said that the Navy had been unable to place a contract for the manufacture of $10,000,000 worth of guns for twenty-eight destroyers because the subcontractors involved flatly rejected the business, even though the government had offered to buy and lend the subcontractors the necessary tools. The subcontractors are said to have claimed that they were not interested in doing business under the Vinson-Trammel act limiting profits to a maximum of eight percent. (That limitation has since been repealed.)

Other testimony has shown that the United States Steel and Midvale Steel corporations, two of the three American producers of armor plate for battleships, also refused to supply the government until their holdup terms were met. Admiral John H. Towers said that an airplane company, which he did not identify, turned thumbs down on an order for 300 airplanes when it was proposed to chop profits from twelve to eight percent. This display of "patriotism" came to light while Secretary of War Stimson was revealing that, though airplane manufacturers were operating far below capacity, the government had been able to sign contracts for only some thirty-three planes out of the 4,000 which Congress had instructed the War Department to obtain promptly. Reason: the manufacturers wanted more profitable terms.

Paul H. Wilkinson, outstanding Diesel aviation authority, has charged that there is not a single Diesel aircraft motor in either the US Army or Navy, although German experience has shown that such motors have a flight range fifteen percent longer than non-Diesels, a military load capacity from fifteen to twenty-five percent greater, and involve far less fire hazard because their fuel is non-explosive. "The monopoly enjoyed by Pratt & Whitney and Curtiss-Wright," Mr. Wilkinson concluded, "apparently will not be disturbed. . . . The Advisory Commission to the Defense Council has an aviation division, but two of the head men—Dr. George Meade and T. P. Wright, previously associated with Pratt & Whitney and Curtiss-Wright—refuse to give the Diesel the consideration demanded. . . ."

Typical of the selfishness—or worse—of industry is the attitude of the Packard auto-

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Rodney

"Hello, DNB, what towns have we captured today?"

mobile manufacturers. The Defense Commission had to offer Packard a $30,000,000 plant plus guaranteed profits to entice the company to build 9,000 airplane motors. This amount exceeded Packard's value for its entire existing plant and equipment. Ernest Jerome Hopkins, writing in the New York *PM,* figured that "each motor would cost, on top of the costs of manufacture and the profits, an extra $3,333 to the public in payment for the plant itself." Du Pont obtained similar contracts for erecting new powder plants, while holdup techniques also won Boeing Aircraft (then operating at about forty percent of capacity) lavish gifts from the public purse. Best example of greed is Curtiss-Wright, which hit the jackpot with a government loan of $92,000,000 to erect a plant whose cost will be amortized at public expense, after which it will become the property of the airplane manufacturers!

Reluctance to accept orders except at fabulous profits has been matched by corporate reluctance to turn over defense work to subcontractors—a step necessary to obtain maximum use of labor skills and manufacturing facilities. There are other reasons for this reluctance besides the desire to retain huge backlogs of piled up orders, ensuring years of capacity work and maximum profits. Defense orders have gone largely to the groups in control of the nation's economic life. Spreading the orders might create competitors for postwar years and thus loosen the stranglehold of monopoly. And industrialists do not hesitate to express their fear that subcontractors will break the united front of bigger business against labor organizations. They have been shocked to see many subcontractors meeting the proper demands of labor unions with closed shop contracts satisfactory to both sides. This, they say, will never do; it gives unions a foothold in industrial areas previously closed to them. Labor is better able to bargain effectively with small industrial units than with aggregations of capital strong enough economically and politically to obtain the use of troops to smash strikes. Bigger employers of this latter class refuse to satisfy labor's needs except under the most determined pressure. Such a policy is not only subversive and a violation of labor laws; it is out of the saboteurs' own handbooks.

Labor, the victim of unpatriotic maneuvers by business leaders who think and practice fascism here at home, has been fighting back. For labor has always sought—in the proposals of Phil Murray, for example—to make the defense program truly effective for the welfare of Americans, and to make it something more than a mere siphoning of public money into private bank accounts. Now it is even more imperative that every American demand the end of defense sabotage by big business. The invasion of the Soviet Union has made urgently necessary the fullest aid to the Soviet and British peoples that they may quickly defeat the fascist aggressors. Every saboteur, every foe of democracy, must be removed from the defense picture.

JULIAN WEBB.

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[1] American Bemberg was formed as the American branch of two merged German companies, whose branches also functioned in Italy and Japan. The stock of American Bemberg was held by the two merged German companies and by an affiliated Dutch company. A secretary-treasurer of American Bemberg was an energetic director of the *German-American Commerce Bulletin,* organ of Nazi trade propaganda in the US. (A fellow director was Ernst Schmitz, director of the notorious German Railroads Information office.) North American Rayon was also formed as the American branch of a German firm. Substantial interests in both companies were under the control of the Associated Rayon Corp., itself controlled by a Dutch firm which was the cornerstone of the German rayon trust. All these firms as well as the Nazi propaganda publication were linked by interlocking directorates.

[2] *The Washington Merry-Go-Round* by Pearson and Allen reported on Sept. 14, 1940: "With the nation desperately needing tin; with the Dutch-Malay tin supply likely to be cut any day by Japan; and with only a limited supply of tin on hand, two men inside the Defense Commission are holding up the State Department plans for the smelting of Bolivian tin in the United States. The two men are: Erwin Vogelsang, formerly connected with two London tin firms, Lewis Lazarus and Sons, and Malcolm Bowley and Son, who has worked all his life in close contact with the British-Patino tin monopoly; Robert L. Hallett, chief chemist of the National Lead Company, which owns part of the Patino mines and was in on the British tin combine. These two men are now urging that the United States do business with Simon Patino, the tin king. They don't want the United States to do business with any Patino rivals, and because of their persistent urging, the entire transaction has been delayed for two months."

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INSIDE THE BRITISH LABOR PARTY

In his weekly report Claude Cockburn notes the confusions and weaknesses among certain sections of the Labor leadership. The growing demand for action on the part of the rank and file.

London (by cable).

YOU have probably read the first official joint statement on the Anglo-Soviet alliance just issued by the British Trades Union Congress and the Labor Party. It is a queer, somewhat disquieting document. It affirms full support for cooperation between the Soviet Union and Britain. And then—rather as though such affirmation were a minor matter—it goes on for the most part to proclaim its refusal to cooperate with the British Communists in a national front against Hitler. That's pretty fair evidence of the weaknesses and confusions—the difficulties in grasping the grim realities of the situation—which exist among some of those responsible for the leadership of the Labor Party and the Trades Union Congress.

The Communist Party, replying briefly to this document, welcomed the declaration in support of the Moscow-London alliance. At the same time it expressed its regret at the Congress' and Labor Party's refusal to cooperate, pointing out that the Anglo-Soviet alliance "can best be served by the closest unity in support of this policy and for the successful prosecution of the war irrespective of all differences in political points of view. . . . The Communist Party will continue to strive in a spirit of cooperation to further all activities and common efforts of all sections of the labor movement and of the nation for the united aim of victory."

Confusion and pettiness among certain sections of the Labor Party leadership would not matter so much if it weren't that at this moment the attitude, and above all the activity, of the Labor Party and the trade union organizations throughout the country are of really crucial importance in the mobilization of the British people behind the government and the Anglo-Soviet alliance. For the plain fact is that as an organized machine for getting things moving and getting things done, the British Labor Party is in a pretty bad way. Indeed, in many places it has been moribund for more than a year. More important, and worse, trade union organizations—branch meetings and branch activities—have been equally moribund for the same period. For months past, complaints regarding this situation have been pouring in from all over the country. It is not now in the least important to go into the question of why the Labor Parties in different localities and local trade union branches fell into this state. The point is that these organizations, which are the real muscles of the British Labor movement, are badly in need of repair. Branch meetings in many places are not being held at all. Local Labor Parties in large sections of the country hardly meet, or meet in only a purely routine way without undertaking any serious action. Yet you have

A Cable from Sholokhov

Veshenskaya, USSR (by cable).

IN THE boundless Don fields, the harvest is in full swing. Caterpillar-wheeled tractors roar. Over the combine-harvesters blue smoke mingles with whitish rye dust, and the agricultural machines chirrup as they trample with their wings the tall, thick rye. It might appear to be a peaceful scene. But no. Over all this lies the severe imprint of war: people and machines work in a new way, precipitately and intensely. Along the steppe roads stretch chains of carts with the grain of the new harvest. And swinging majestically, huge bullock carts move forward bearing the splendid hay. The Red Army needs all this. Everything is being done for the Army. And all thoughts are yonder, at the front.

A middle-aged Cossack collective-farmer crumbles a wheat ear between the palms of his hands and says with a smile: "Not merely Britain and other wise people are allied to us; nature itself is for us and against Hitler. Just look what grain we've grown this year, 'tis like in a fairytale. Everything giving us a helping hand!"

In all the collective farms which it has been my fortune to visit I've found a lofty understanding of civil duty. Children and old folks work in the fields, not sparing their energies. Collective farmer Vasili Tselikov, after listening to restrained praise, answered: "We cannot work badly. I think this way—for the time being, we are defending our country by work, and should the need arise, we will defend it with arms. Aye, how can we work badly if from almost every household there's somebody fighting in the Red Army? Now take me, for example, I've two sons and both at the front. Although I am an old man, I've enlisted in the volunteer guard."

In the head offices of the "Path to Socialism" collective farm, there works a bookkeeper who is by no means a young man. The collective-farm chairman is in the field. In the village not a soul remains. All the people are engaged in haymaking, unloading the grain. Without for a moment lifting his eyes from the documents in front of him, the bookkeeper says: "My son is on the Western Front. He's been in the regular army for three years, and is now commander of a field gun. I belong to the volunteer guard. Here in the village nearly a hundred of us have joined the guard. Look how many young people there still are about the farmsteads. They enroll as volunteers, but as yet they've not been called up. That means our strength is tremendous."

Collective farmer Pokusayev, a healthy, broadchested lad, son of a local blacksmith, served as an artilleryman when he was in the Red Army. From my conversation with the others, it turns out that in the recent past one was a tankist, another an artilleryman who served in a Howitzer battery, the third an anti-aircraft artilleryman, and the fourth a former member of a famous cavalry division. They all might have been specially picked out—young, strong, healthy men—and it's understandable that they want to go and strike down the enemy crazed with blood and cheap successes. This is the desire of the young Don Cossacks, yesterday's and tomorrow's men of the great Red Army. It is the desire of those whose forefathers for centuries shed their blood at the frontiers of their native land, defending it against many enemies.

In addition to all this, I call to mind the words of an eighty-three-year-old man, Yevlantiev, now guarding the collective farm threshing floor: "My grandfather fought Napoleon and he used to tell me about it when I was a little lad. Setting out on the war against us, Napoleon gathered his Murats and generals together on a clear day in an open field and said: 'I plan to conquer Russia. What have you to say about it, generals?' And they answered in one voice: 'It is absolutely impossible, Your Imperial Highness. It is too difficult a job to tackle. We will not conquer it.'

"Napoleon pointed up at the sky and asked: 'Do you see that star?'

" 'No,' they answered, 'we don't. It is impossible to see the stars in the daytime.'

" 'But I,' says he, 'can see it in the daytime too. It promises us victory.' And with that he led off his troops against us.

"The gates Napoleon entered were wide ones, but those through which he withdrew were narrow ones, and our lads followed him to the very capital of France itself.

"I think with my old grandfather's wisdom that the same sort of silly star was seen by this German chief; and when they get him to exit he will find the gates narrow, oh, how narrow!"

MIKHAIL SHOLOKHOV.

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only to know the enormous things that were done during the Spanish war, under much more difficult internal political conditions, to realize just what power of mobilizing and galvanizing opinion and activity these organizations have when they really get into action.

EVERYONE can see that the need for getting into action today is a thousand times more urgent than in the Spanish war. Immediate problems of production require the fullest and most detailed expert attention of local organizations. So do food problems, air-raid protection, and other problems of wartime. And along with all this there needs to be launched, by the labor movement, a great drive for maximum national unity behind government policy. Yet just at the moment when the need is to get everyone together to organize the huge general enthusiasm for the alliance which exists, and to lift the entire labor movement out of its present stagnation, there are people still engaged in ancient domestic vendettas of the kind referred to in the joint statement of the Labor Party and Trades Union Congress. Another instance of the same kind of strange failure to grasp realities occurred a few days ago when *Reynolds News*—powerful journal of the Cooperative Movement—solemnly devoted a large part of its space to messages from front-rank trade union leaders on behalf of nationalization of various industries. Now the fact is that nationalization is not a live issue at this moment in any industry in this country; it is not one of the things that men on the job are seriously worrying about. And no amount of arguing about it now will do the least bit toward producing the guns, tanks, and planes that are needed within the next few weeks and months if the war situation is to be dealt with effectively and the Western Front made a fighting reality. On the contrary, raising such an issue now can only result in distracting attention from the serious matters that need to be taken in hand immediately.

Putting things very simply—maybe oversimply—I would say that the dominating and most dangerous belief prevalent in Labor Party and trade union official circles today is that when you are supporting instead of opposing the government, the most useful thing that local Labor Parties and trade union branches can do is to shut up. Yet day-by-day events in factories prove conclusively the urgent need for more, not less, activity in making the alliance policy work effectively. And right here we get to another trend in the organized labor movement which is of great interest and importance. It is obvious that, parallel with demands for a real cleanup of inefficiency in the management of factories and an investigation into the whole system of government war contracts, there must be considerable overhauling of all such practices, particularly common in the old established craft unions, as may interfere with efficient production. It is an immense tribute to the swiftness with which organized British workers have grasped the implications and possibilities of the Soviet alliance that already in the principal union organization of the building trades big steps have been taken toward speeding production by accepting methods of work and payment which previously were totally at variance with the union's traditions. The same sort of spirit was seen last week among Liverpool dockers, who—while strenuously objecting to some bureaucratic and stupidly dictatorial new practices introduced at the port—wired Minister of Labor Bevin an offer to donate their labor for one entire day without pay, as a demonstration of their anxiety to speed up the war effort. But naturally, unless and until the Labor Party and trade unions get their forces really on the job explaining the situation to all members and stirring up activity in the branches, it is going to be heavy going for large numbers—particularly among the less skilled, less politically developed workers—to grasp the issues as they really are and to act accordingly.

IT IS because of this lack of mass activity throughout the country that the Labor leadership in the government, in Commons and elsewhere, does not at the moment cut a more impressive figure—though there are large numbers of Labor members in Parliament, for instance, who could make thoroughly useful contributions. This isn't to say that the trend within the Labor Party is toward continuance of the present unsatisfactory position. The shop stewards' movement has come vigorously to the fore, playing a vital part in the "battle for production" and helping to revivify local trade union activity. Among the local Labor Party members there is a growing realization of the need for an absolutely united front against fascism. Here one may instance the "Town Meeting" held in one Lancashire township last week, where the mayor for the first time in history presided over a meeting in support of government policy. The meeting was attended by every single political party from Communists to Tories and included local Labor people.

There will be many more such meetings as the real gravity of our situation becomes plainer throughout the country. And it is worth remembering that during the Spanish war, despite the original support of the Labor Party and union leadership for a non-intervention policy against the Spanish republic, mass activity did finally cause those leaders to alter their attitude and lead a great anti-fascist campaign on the issue. It is not now so much a question of an "alteration" of policy in the narrow sense of the word, as of a need for immense activization of whole "muscles" of British democracy.

CLAUDE COCKBURN.

Inside Dope

"DEAR EDITOR: Nobody can fool me! By carefully reading the daily newspapers for two years, plus the columns of Dorothy Thompson, Westbrook Pegler, General Johnson, and Walter Lippmann, I have learned that:

Hitler decided to fight the Soviets because his ally, Stalin, was completely under his thumb and was sending him all the war supplies he needed.

The Finns are fighting for Hitler because Finland is a little democratic nation and Baron Mannerheim is its George Washington.

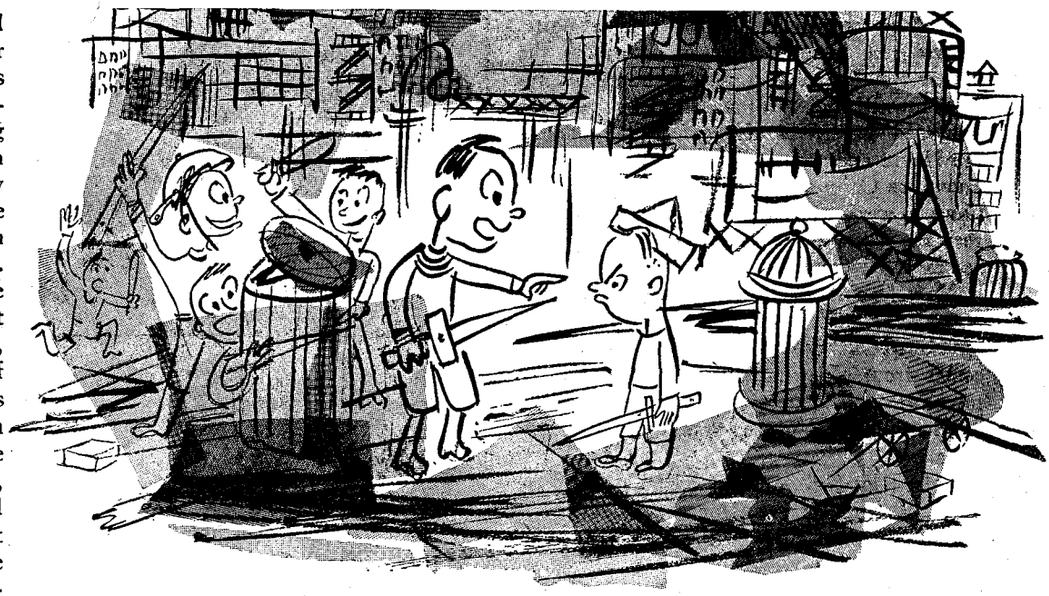
The Russians are resisting the Nazis so tenaciously because they hate Stalin's Communism and are planning a revolution.

The Nazis and Communists are fighting to the death because Communism and Nazism are the same thing, called Communazism.

The Red Army did not collapse in ten days because it is made up of important peasants who won't listen to the experts of the US War Department.

The Red Army has crimped the blitz because the best military leaders were all purged by Stalin.

I know all the inside dope about Soviet Russia because I read the newspapers.—WELL INFORMED."—*A letter in the New York "PM," July 23.*



"You, Peewee, have to be Hitler." Frederick

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DEAR EDITOR

Down in Alabama Sam Hall and his newspaper are telling the cotton and steel bourbons the things they don't like to hear. The poor man's spokesman in the South.

MANY years ago this writer nourished the hope that he might some day purchase a small-town newspaper in the South. In the course of pursuing this fancy I did a good deal of prospecting and occasionally even entered into negotiations. It all came to naught, but as a result of this experience I learned that a rule-of-thumb method of determining the value of a small newspaper is to multiply the number of paid subscribers by $5. Now, when the job at hand calls for an appraisal of a certain small Southern newspaper, our neat little rule is rendered useless, for the reason that no arrangement of numbers preceded by a $-sign can express the value of a weapon hated and feared by Southern reaction.

So, having established that we are dealing with a very unusual newspaper, let's begin by calling up two expert witnesses—a couple of average readers among the many hundreds who express themselves in the "Letters to the Editor" column of the *Southern News Almanac,* published in an old store building on a down-at-heel commercial street in Birmingham, Ala.

The first letter comes from a country where sugar cane grows higher than a man's head on great plantations of thousands of acres. The people, black and white, live in tiny little whitewashed cabins. Security is a word without meaning except in relation to a man's credit at the plantation store, and law and government are vague and distant shapes obscured by the intervening figure of the riding boss.

"Dear Editor," writes J. E. M. of Patterson, La. "Find enclosed one dime for the *News Almanac* for next month. I do not want to miss any copies. As I wrote you before, very few people here can read or write. Down here where I live is known as the 'Sugar Bowl,' which consists of large plantations owned by wealthy landlords who do not read the *News Almanac*. The workers are Negro and white. The whites are French, known as Cajuns, most of whom cannot read. Once a week they come to my home and I read the *News Almanac* to them and then we comment on the news. . . ."

Now let's leave J. E. M. and his neighbors. They have plenty to talk about as they "comment on the news." The next letter comes from Bessemer, Ala., a harsh, smoky town of iron miners and smelter workers, Southern outpost of the great steel corporations.

"Mr. Sam Hall, editor," writes Louis Tarrant: "I am vice president of the Raimund Red Ore Local 121 (United Mine, Mill, and Smelter Workers, CIO) of Bessemer, Ala. I am compelled to let you know that the more than 400 Negro and 200 white members of my local appreciate very highly the stand you have taken in reference to the brutal slaying of John Jackson, Fairfield steel worker. . . . I pleaded to a very large attendance of my people in our last meeting to subscribe to your paper 100 percent. This I believe a large majority will do. . . ."

IT IS STIRRING and, of course, important that a plantation wage worker of the South and an iron miner from an industrial center of the "New South" have met in the "Letters to the Editor" column of this paper. But this fact alone does not epitomize the *Almanac*. The really significant thing common to those two letters is that the correspondents have found the paper not merely admirable but a fighting weapon. The Louisiana farm worker has rallied his neighbors around it. The local official of the mine union uses it to smash back at police brutality in a company-dominated steel town. In short, the *Southern News Almanac* is something more than just a progressive little newspaper with an appeal to both farmers and industrial workers. It is an organic part of their struggle in the deep South.

In and near Birmingham people are accustomed to bring their problems directly to the office of the *News Almanac*. A few months ago a landlord owning a group of tenements hiked rents. Tenants immediately showed up at the *Almanac* office and asked for advice. Formation of a tenants' council was suggested. The council appealed to the landlord without result. But it quickly grew into a tenants' union, which called a rent strike and defeated the raise. The unemployed in Birmingham and adjoining towns complained of unfairness and discrimination in distributing relief jobs. They came to the *News Almanac* with their problems. The result was the formation of a broad committee on unemployment and relief, with progressive union officials and unemployed presenting a united front against discrimination.

A Negro steel worker was beaten to death by police; a Negro youth was attacked by a Birmingham policeman in front of a Negro theater. Every paper in the area except the *News Almanac* played down the story. The *Almanac* carried it with top headlines on page one and smashing editorials attacking responsible officials. Result: formation of a Birmingham Committee Against Police Brutality, which undertook the prosecution of offending policemen and the defense of their victims. (Incidentally, Joseph S. Gelders, business manager of the *Almanac* and secretary of the Civil Rights Committee of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare, happened to be an eye witness to the beating of the Negro youth. Gelders demanded the badge

Shark and Whale

Suggested by the Japanese invasion of China

The Far East shark
Is grim and dark
As he a-hunting goes
Where neighbor whale
His far off tail
Suns in calm repose.
"To eat too full,"
Shark thinks, "is dull
And sometimes causes sorrow.
I'll dine today
On whale halfway
And finish him tomorrow."
With lashing fin
And hanging chin
Onward the hunter hops,
His belly puffed,
Soon to be stuffed
With flavorous whale chops.
Alas, alas,
In quite a pass
This hunter, grim, unerring.
The whale he found
Too large around,
Quite different from a herring.
Too big a bite—
The shark feels tight,
In fact quite overloaded;
And then and there
In churning air,
Shark—and hunt—exploded.

SAMUEL MARSHAK.

Translated from the Russian by Isidor Schneider

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number of the policeman. He was immediately arrested for "interfering with an officer," a charge later changed to "refusing to assist an officer." Gelders is now awaiting trial.)

Undoubtedly the most striking testimonial to the paper has been the Negro people's response to its battle for passage of anti-lynch legislation, abolition of the poll tax, and an end to discrimination in all forms. When the paper was launched ninety percent of its initial subscribers were white. Although there has been a steady increase of white readers ever since, the ratio of Negro subscribers to white now stands about fifty-fifty.

ALL THIS about what the *Almanac* has done, and why, has somehow managed to evade a factor of decisive importance in the person of a plumpish little man named Sam Hall. Crusading newspapers in the South have always been personal journals, so you need to know Sam Hall in order to understand his newspaper. Besides, Sam is the best part of the story.

Sam Hall is a thirty-one-year-old north Alabaman with a round face, round waistline, and a pair of dead-earnest blue eyes. Anyone would expect this pleasant Southerner to do a nice job selling small town newspaper advertising. The local merchants would surely consider him a "good ole boy." And they actually did, back in Anniston, Ala. Sam's life followed a pretty dull-looking pattern for a while.

You see, everybody was fond of Sam. "Smart boy, too." There was a rumor that he wrote short stories and sometimes sold them, but even that didn't hurt Sam's business and personal reputation. Nor did his love for amateur theatricals. His good name likewise survived some funny notions that Sam picked up Lord knows where. Nobody told Sam when he was a kid that the problem of hunger amidst plenty was one that some people were struggling to solve scientifically. With Sam, this thing became a deeply personal worry. So with no one to guide him, Sam got launched on a strange, miscellaneous reading career, centering around the meager shelves of the local library. There were plenty of lessons in economics for Sam in his own life, but his associates generally absorbed the same lessons without actually learning any of the conclusions. There is no ready explanation for the fact that Sam worked them out correctly, save that people inevitably do.

SAM HALL'S MOTHER was a farm girl who grew up to marry the country teacher. The teacher followed the current drift to the towns and opened a grocery store in Anniston. Sam crashed the newspaper business in good Horatio Alger tradition—selling papers at the age of nine. His rise was spectacular. Sports reporter at fourteen, handling the "desk" Sunday nights at sixteen. Salary? Five dollars a week. This tip had hardly expanded into the small-salary category when the depression gave the boss an excuse to chop it again.

The Southern NEWS ALMANAC

"Ye shall know the truth, and the truth shall make you free." — John 8:32

VOLUME 2, NO. 28 BIRMINGHAM, ALA., THURSDAY, JULY 7, 1941 5 PER COPY

Why Save Us Old Aluminum?

Is Poll Tax Constitutional?

More Money For WPA!

People Of Texas Reject Martin Dies In Election

ALABAMA CIO GIVES PEOPLE FINE PROGRAM

Picnic To Launch Great Organizing Drive Among Alabama "Dirt" Farmers

Great Battle Rages Between Nazis And Defending Red Army

Coal Miners Win Vacation, NLRB Election

America's Plenty Can Provide For All—No One Shall Starve!

This week the pink slips fell. They fell like snow in July—chilling the hearts of thousands with fear for the future. Fear of Starvation for themselves and their children.

These pink slips were notices of dismissal from WPA. Washington had decided on a slash in WPA funds—so these people were shoved into the pit of despair. The lackeys who write and orate for the big boys blandly told "the public" that these people would find places in booming industry.

They closed their eyes to the thousands enrolled on waiting lists—trying in vain to get on WPA in order to keep body and soul together.

WPA appropriations should have been raised—not cut!

But the decision in Washington was for a cut. Now more thousands have joined those on WPA waiting lists—where they wait and slowly starve.

W. G. Henderson, Alabama state administrator for WPA said last week: "... we also know from all information we have in hand that only a small percentage of those workers who are being dropped will be able to get jobs elsewhere."

In the face of this unemployment, the cry is to cut down the manufacture of things people need in order to step up defense production. But the real answer is to use America's capacities to the full. Put all the nine million unemployed to work—use all of our machines and farm lands. Then there would be no need for WPA. We must fight for that solution, but the people cut from WPA can't afford to wait. Their need is urgent.

So today the immediate demand is for more WPA money. We people must speak with a thundering voice to Congress. No American shall starve! The issue isn't closed. Congress can make new WPA appropriations. The CIO, through President Philip Murray, insisted on 2 1-2 billion dollars for WPA. At least that sum is necessary.

Write your Congressman. Have your organization pass resolutions and send them to Washington. DEMAND MORE MONEY FOR WPA—NOW! America's plenty can provide for all. We will not stop until it does!

Sam Hall

EDITORIAL: Hitlerism Must Be Crushed

NAACP Convention Takes Strong Stand Against Discrimination

"What stuck in my craw," Sam says, "was that the big mules expect us to share in the gall and wormwood, but not in the milk and honey."

Sam's style in speech and column writing will always reflect his years as a youth leader in the church. He learned a lot about his people in those years. He knows that there is a strong religious flavor and fervor in the way Southern people understand their injustices.

This knowledge is reflected in the subject matter and regular features of the paper. A popular column is "Pulpit in Print," conducted by the sharp-tongued Rev. Fred E. Maxey, whose regular pulpit is in a mining suburb of Birmingham. Another regular column is the Rev. Don West's "Awakening Church." For the past several weeks it has been devoted to the fight against peonage on Georgia plantations. Another indispensable feature is the weekly Sunday school lesson, written for the paper by a small town Alabama minister who occasionally draws a progressive lesson from his text, but in general writes a plain and simple Sunday school lesson.

Sam got in a year and a half at a Baptist college in Birmingham before finances licked him. Then came ten more years with the *Star*, as Anniston's most amiable ad-man. His amiability was wearing thin, though, when he decided to move to his father's farm. He thought that writing a novel might help. But that was when the *Almanac* called to him, down in Talladega County. Sam still dreams of a farm, preferably one with a lot of fruit trees to prune. But when the call came, there

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was just a farewell look over the shoulder at the fruit trees, the Golden Minorcas, and the unfinished novel. Little easy-going Sam, who says he hates fights, was off to Birmingham for a fight that was just starting. He's really in it now, slamming out the answers for the people every week, in language they know, and nobody doubts he'll be there at the end.

YOU WILL MEET Sam Hall pretty intimately when you see your first copy of the *News Almanac*. His leading editorial is always on the front page, three columns wide, set in such big type and written in such small words that eyes unaccustomed to reading can spell out its militant message. Set into the type is a half-column picture of Sam's round and guileless face. But if you look at the picture closely you will see that there is a quality of urgency in the expression. It seems to say, "Listen, brother, this is the straight stuff." At the bottom the editorial is signed "Sam Hall" in a big, clear hand that seems to proclaim, "Yes, sir, that's what Sam Hall thinks about it and if Martin Dies doesn't like it he can lump it."

Sam feels that his main job is to keep his readers armed in the fight against the South's own peculiar brands of native Hitlerism. When a Talmadge appears to attack public education Sam lambastes him with editorials and factual news stories. Texas' Senator (Electrocute-All-Strikers) Connally has taken many a dressing down in editorial, news story, and cartoon. A timidly liberal Alabama congressman who ran for cover at the first "boo" of reaction was portrayed as "Scared Rabbit Luther Patrick," a secondary feature of every editorial cartoon, on no matter what subject, for a couple of months. The ludicrous antics of "Scared Rabbit" gave the congressman an indelible sobriquet throughout the poorer sections of his district.

Sam Hall's editorials make it plain that for poor folks and progressives the world over the main job is to defeat Hitler. His steady aim at budding Southern fascists just means that the *Southern News Almanac* regards their theater of operations as its sector of the front. In order to prosecute this fight to the utmost Sam keeps his readers well informed on world affairs and the progress of the war on the Eastern Front.

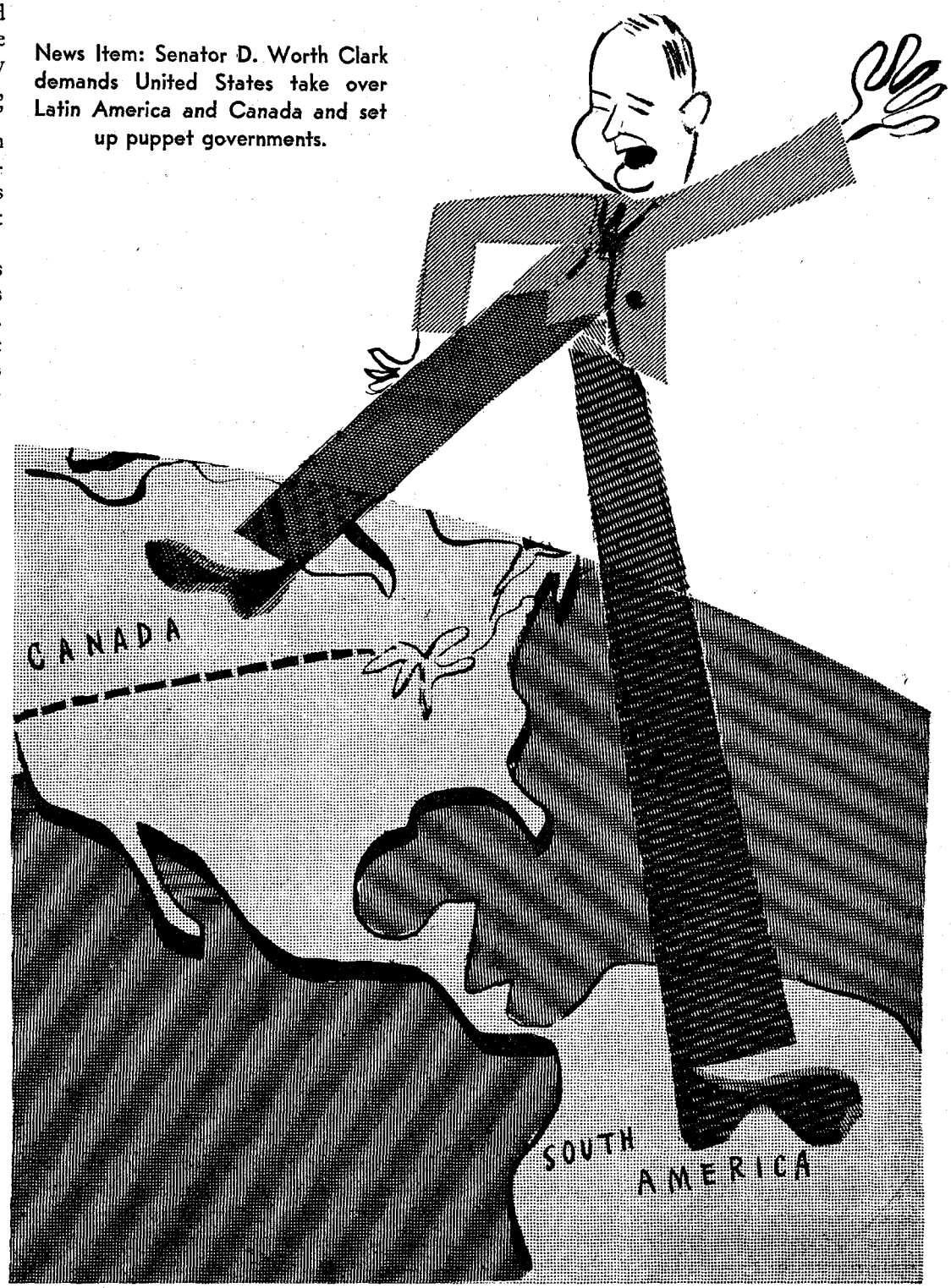
NATURALLY, the reply of Southern reactionaries to the *Almanac's* militant call for unity of all Southern people has been bitter Red-baiting. Sam has always stood his ground or counter-attacked brilliantly. When the Nazi war machine plunged its panzers across the Soviet frontier Sam splashed an editorial entitled "Hitlerism Must Be Crushed" across his front page, and in the very next issue announced a sensational journalistic scoop: the *News Almanac* would be the first American newspaper to publish the Dean of Canterbury's *Soviet Power* serially. The first installment appeared in the issue of July 17.

This week is the eightieth of regular publication of the paper. They have been eighty weeks of steady growth, surmounting many disheartening obstacles. Neither Sam Hall nor his associates try to evade the all too obvious fact that many dangers lie ahead, chief of which is the wolf that howls constantly outside the *News Almanac* door. As with most valuable progressive ventures, the financial problem has never been solved. Lately the paper regretfully advanced its subscription price from ten to fifteen cents a month. This was a setback for the wolf although not a rout. Readers from the farms and factory towns wrote in to say that they understood and supported the price increase. Rising circulation (of course, the paper gets almost no advertising) sharpens the problem. But at the same time it emphasizes the responsibility of the small editorial staff.

IF YOU ASK Sam Hall about the future of the paper he is apt to discuss frankly the difficulties that lie ahead. But you will notice that, at the same time, he seems pretty confident. The reason is that his readers, in hundreds of letters and in innumerable calls at the office, tell him more than a balance sheet can tell a banker. They tell him that the need for a poor man's spokesman is very great in the South and that need is somehow the paper's guarantee of the future.

NORMAN O'HARA.

News Item: Senator D. Worth Clark demands United States take over Latin America and Canada and set up puppet governments.



"And as you know, gentlemen, I've always been a non-interventionist."

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HOW BRITAIN CAN INVADE THE CONTINENT

What the armed forces could do to help the Soviet Union on other fronts. Colonel T. estimates the means at London's disposal. The value of the V-front.

IT IS a well known fact, so well known it has become trite, that a war on two fronts has for years been the nightmare of the German General Staff.

Hitler took a chance on attacking the Soviet Union because, obviously, he had been misled into thinking that the Great Britain of Churchill was not much different from the Great Britain of Chamberlain. In other words, he expected the British empire to rest on its sword the moment he launched his "war in defense of God" in the East.

But Hitler's foremost miscalculation concerned the power of the Red Army and the preparedness and spirit of the Soviet people as a whole. This miscalculation put him face to face with *two* fronts: (1) the bulk of the Red Army; and (2) the "porcupine front" of the Soviet "regular guerrillas" (a new and heretofore unheard of thing) who harry his lines of communications and create countless vast and small pockets of Soviet resistance which absorb the German reserves so badly needed at the front.

MEANWHILE the Nazi military machine, skidding, knocking, and boiling, but still able to move, faces still a third front. We shall call it the "V-front." At present it has but limited military value, inasmuch as it has no organized military forces and is still in a state of ferment. However, there is no doubt that the brooding, conquered peoples of Europe compel the Nazis to keep about twenty percent of their armed forces smeared over a huge area inhabited by over 200,000,000 people. This is the military value of the "V-front" thus far. In time, as the failures of the Germans in the East become more and more known, the "V-front" may transform itself into another "porcupine front" which will be linked to the one now fighting between Memel and Pernov, Brest-Litovsk and Smolensk, Przemysl and Zhitomir, Galati and Tiraspol.

And west of these three fronts is supposed to be a fourth—a purely military, regular one, vaguely called "The Western Front." This front is not all "western" because it has ramifications in Africa, the Middle East, and points east of Suez. It might really be called the "English-speaking front."

Theoretically, therefore, Germany is now caught between two regular war fronts (Eastern and Western) and honeycombed by two "irregular" fronts. As the situation appears now, each of the regular fronts (British and Soviet) "feeds," inspires, and directs one "irregular" front. In the broadest strategical sense, they form two pairs of forces, one east and the other north, west, and south of Germany and its satellites.

It is important to the success of the campaign against Hitlerism that the pairs of forces apply a coordinated effort. The Eastern pair is taking the brunt of the attack. It holds, and repels, probably from seventy-five to eighty-five percent of Germany's fighting divisions and an equal portion of the German Air Force. It inflicts direct casualties. It has already put out of action at least one-quarter of the German Army.

And what does the "West" do in the meantime? The British Air Force drops bombs on Germany and German-held territories. This is all right, but it amounts to little more than holding a man's coat while he is fighting. These attacks meet little opposition because the German General Staff does not deem it worthwhile to remove a substantial part of the luftwaffe from the East to ward off these attacks. In other words, we see that since June 22 the aerial war in the West is fundamentally the same as the one that has been going on since August 1940, with the roles of attacked and attacker reversed. The German attack did not break Britain in ten months. The British attack will hardly break Germany in another ten months. With all the respect this cavalryman has for the air arm, he still believes that no war can be won (in our day, at least) in the third dimension alone, just as no war can be won by artillery alone. Bombers are little more than long-range artillery batteries. This is even more true because of the fact that air-raid and anti-aircraft defenses have been catching up with aviation very fast—as proved, for instance, by Moscow's and Leningrad's immunity to serious devastation from air raids. Such bombing is Great Britain's only military contribution to the common war, besides "scouting patrol activity" around Tobruk and the pass made by sea-borne British aviation in the direction of the nickel mines of Petsamo.

Last week radio commentator Quincy Howe said:

> Right now as we sit here listening to our radios, the mightiest, bloodiest battle in human history is being fought on the plains of Russia, a battle which might determine the fate of the whole world. All honor to the British people for their fortitude under actual bombardment and the threat of bombardment. . . . But the Russians are enduring an ordeal of another kind. They are fighting and dying as no nation has ever before had to fight and die. As the people of New York and other American cities blossom out with masses of V pins—V for Victory—it is ironic to reflect that the hope for victory that these pins symbolize would not have reached its present proportions had it not been for the power of the Red Army. So hold 'em, Stalin, while we bundle for Britain.

Mr. Howe is right. I would have only added, in all fairness and to make the picture complete: ". . . and Britain throws bombs at Germany."

Now, to a soldier it is repellent to sit in an armchair at a typewriter and try to tell other soldiers what they should do. So this should not be construed as armchair advice to the British, but simply as an analysis of what Britain's armed forces could do to help the Soviet Union destroy the common enemy.

First of all, what means does Britain have? It has a powerful navy, against which the German Navy cannot even begin to stand up. Of this there is no doubt. Britain has an air force which is not yet quantitatively the luftwaffe's match but is qualitatively better in both human and technical material. Britain's army probably consists of some sixty firstline divisions with insufficient mechanized forces (by German and Soviet standards), and some 2,000,000 men of various, more or less integrated, military formations, good for the defense of the Isles but hardly up to scratch for invasion purposes. So much for the British Isles.

In the Near East (from Libya to Turkey) the British probably have slightly less than half a million men. These men are seasoned, tempered, and in excellent fighting trim. There are about 200,000 available in East Africa, now that the campaign there is over and Ethiopia can be left to Haile Selassie and his people.

We shall not discuss possible reserves which Britain could draw from India. (If India were free she could more whole-heartedly contribute her full share to the anti-Hitler struggle.) In any case enough could be brought from there to take the place of the troops withdrawn from Africa and the Near East, should it be decided to move them elsewhere for an offensive operation.

SO WE SEE that Britain could make available immediately half a million men for "invasion purposes." By this we mean that such a number could be taken *either* from the British Isles, the invasion of which is out of the question at present, *or* from the Near East and Africa. In a pinch half a million *from each* could be used, making a grand total of one million.

The question now arises: where to take them? Let us walk over to the map and take a good look. Europe west of the 30th meridian has four peninsulas each of which might provide a "stirrup" for an invasion. These peninsulas are Scandinavia, Spain, Italy, and the Balkans. Here are four possible avenues, should one take it for granted that the northern shores of France, Belgium, and the Netherlands are as "uninvadable" to the British as east Anglia is to the Germans (and the latter seems to be so).

The invasion of Norway (coupled with a moral squeeze on Sweden) could be effected

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from three bases: in Scotland, Iceland, and Spitzbergen. It would have the advantage of leaning its flank against the Red Army in Petsamo and of encountering a receptive population. It would deprive the Germans of the nickel of Petsamo in Finland and the iron of Gallivare in Sweden. If pushed south to the Straits it would make the western Baltic very unhealthy for the German Navy and the German inner sea lanes. It could be done with 500,000 men, 1,500,000 tons of shipping, a small part of the British Navy, and one-third of the RAF. The time—*right now.* For in September northern Norway is no picnic (although the Germans managed it in April). In such a contingency, Sweden would have to be put under "moral suasion" such as the Germans applied to get their two divisions across into Finland. And why not? This is a war, not a tournament.

BY GERMAN standards and precedents the British could be in Christiansund and Oslo by the end of August. However, this would not bring a military decision *on land.* It would inconvenience the Germans, but it would not lick them right away. However, it would certainly bring the war home to East Prussia, Berlin, and the whole of northern Germany. Denmark could be invaded from Norway. It was done in a northerly direction by the Germans; why could it not be done in a southerly direction by the British? Such an operation would certainly make the eventual victory of the Red Army less costly in terms of human life.

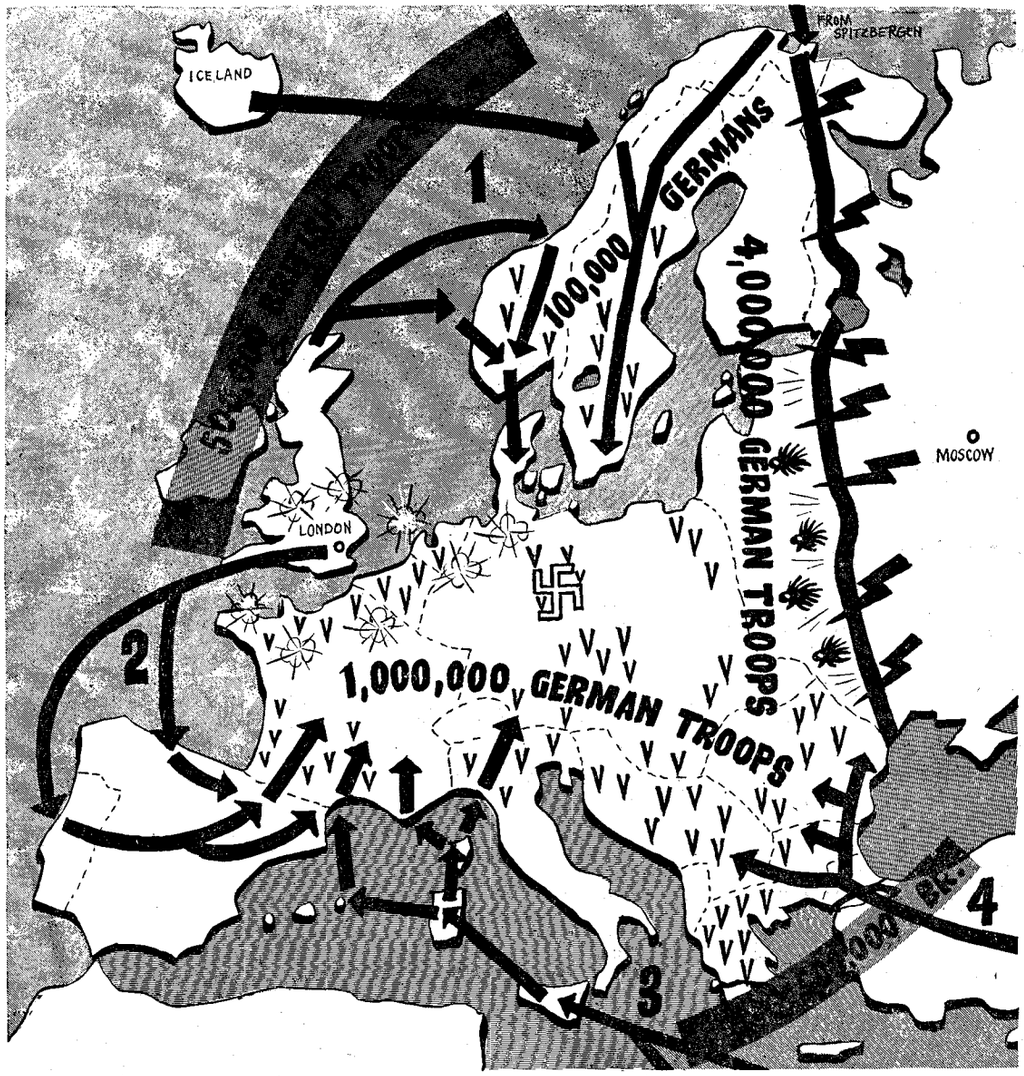
APPROXIMATELY the same calculations could be applied to an invasion of Portugal and Spain. While the barrier of the Pyrenees would be a serious obstacle to the British invasion army, it should not be overestimated. You remember what was said about the Balkans when the Germans went in. Yet they got through all right. As to Franco's army—five British army corps could simply arrest (in the police sense) and disarm it because the army would hardly offer any resistance under the circumstances. The Republicans held it at bay with empty hands despite Hitler's and Mussolini's support of Franco.

An invasion of Italy coupled with landings on the French Riviera would be feasible after the occupation of Corsica, Sardinia, and Sicily by air-borne troops. After all, why not, after Crete? Especially now that the shibboleth of German invincibility has been shattered by the Red Army. In such a case the Germans could not put more than fifty divisions in the field against the invading British anywhere. There is, of course, the Italian Army. But what about the experience of the Greeks, and of General Wavell in the campaign of Libya?

And finally, a Balkan campaign is possible with the help of the Turks, across the Straits, with a bridgehead around Adrianople. Not through Salonika, but along the coast of the Black Sea straight to the Danube into Bulgaria and Rumania. Lean the right flank against the Red Army in Bessarabia and face west—the entire Balkan Peninsula would blow up like a volcano in Field Marshal List's face.

A COMBINATION of the first and fourth variants would perhaps be best. *Remember, there are German precedents of success for all these variants; and Germany has now available only a fraction of its army.* Each one of these four operations, or any combination of them (preferably one based on England and one on Cairo) would put a lot of "bone" into the "V-Front."

COLONEL T.



COLONEL T. *picks out four possible invasion routes for the British Expeditionary Force. Number 1 is of course the most likely, and that is across the Scandinavian peninsula, through either Norway or Sweden, or both, in cooperation with the Soviet forces operating from Murmansk. Number 2 is across the Iberian peninsula, the route which the British took in their campaign against Napoleon. The third peninsula through which offensive operations are possible, if properly supported by seapower, is Italy, across the plains of Lombardy to the Brenner Pass. And the fourth is the Balkan peninsula. British forces based on Syria and cooperating with Turkey could move across the Dardanelles. Here, also, the Soviet Black Sea fleet and air force would be of direct assistance. Naturally, the Colonel emphasizes that the arrows in this map are schematic: they are not meant to show exact military routes but only general directions. At the same time, a British Expeditionary Force will have the advantage of indirect support in the form of three existing fronts which are now severely taxing the Reichswehr: first and foremost is the Eastern Front, shown in the map by lightning bolts, where the "magnificent resistance" of the Soviet armies has stalled the terrific Nazi pressure. Then there is the "porcupine front," consisting of civilian and Red Army guerrillas operating behind the German advance lines. And finally, there's the "V front"—not yet a military factor, but a powerful factor in the ultimate disintegration of Hitler's rule.*

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Strictly Personal

by RUTH McKENNEY

BUTTON, BUTTON

AMONG the more edifying of recent mysteries is the unexplained (sinister?) disappearance of the Hungarian Army and Mr. Fletcher Pratt, a military expert in the pay of the New York *Post*. Only the most unperceptive, stolid amateur detective could deny that there must be some link between these two sad cases. After all, Mr. Pratt and the Hungarian Army dropped out of sight more or less simultaneously and evidently for the same reasons.

Consider the facts. The Hungarian Army and Mr. Fletcher Pratt were last heard from approximately a month ago, shouting, "The Soviet Army is all washed up; the war will be over in two weeks." I translate, you understand, freely from the Hungarian and the curious jargon used by military experts. From this point on, a dark veil of mystery covers our two victims. Let us go directly to the heart of the situation; let us examine the clues concerning the Hungarian Army. According to the New York *Times* of some weeks ago, the glorious Hungarian Army was busy crossing a river, whose name I forget. Let us call it, for convenience, the River Glotz. Well, you will all remember that the Hungarian Army blitzed this river time and again.

I remember that at the time I thought there was something rather singular in this performance. Why keep storming the fortifications on the same river, every day? Why not gallop madly into further Soviet territory? Why this preoccupation with the River Glotz? But then, I reassured myself, the Hungarian High Command (sic) undoubtedly knew what it was doing. "Do not worry," I muttered under my breath as I anxiously read the morning communique, "The Hungarian generals are all lions! It says so!" Just the same, I allowed myself a few thoughts about an army led by an admiral. Is this correct, I said to myself? Is this a natural relationship? Do generals like to be bossed around by an admiral? Perhaps there is dissension in the High Command? Perhaps the admiral insists that the brave Hungarian Army stick close to the River Glotz. River, you understand—water—admiral. But my husband shattered all that nonsense. He pointed out that Hungary was a landlocked nation and "Admiral" was but a courtesy title. Even so, I felt uneasy. Isn't that a rather odd courtesy title for a landlocked nation?

Well, I do not claim foresight. I may have been a touch uneasy about the Hungarian Army, but I admit I never dreamed it would just disappear. I wish I could remember the exact day I noticed it was missing; I am sure it would be a clue. I can't, though. One week I was reading Hungarian High Command communiques, and the next week I wasn't. Three weeks later I realized there was something wrong. But what? I felt my skin prickle and my nose twitch. And then my husband came home on the 6:11 full of excitement.

"Fletcher Pratt has disappeared!" he shouted, rather callously, I thought.

Then I knew. "The Hungarian Army!" I replied; but it was already rather late, the trail was cold, the clues fading away.

Fletcher Pratt at first seemed a simple case. We all assumed he had been canned by his boss, fresh back from England. After all, a daily newspaper can pull a lot of boners and hardly notice it, but Fletcher Pratt went rather far. "Two weeks," he said flatly of the Soviet-Nazi war. That's the sort of thing newspaper readers remember, acidly.

But when Fletcher Pratt was replaced by Ludwig Lore, we knew something sinister was definitely up. For surely nobody in his right mind would fire Mr. Pratt to replace him with Mr. Lore. "The pot calling the kettle black" puts it extremely mildly.

So what of poor Fletcher Pratt? Is he having his tonsils out? Cooling his fevered brow via a vacation? Or has he been spirited away by forces beyond the control of Mr. George Backer, his boss? In a word, has he been doped and duped by sinister characters waving Soviet communiques under his nose? Has his spirit broken? Is he unable to do his daily stint now that the Soviets are beating the "finest military machine in world history"? Who can say? Not me, certainly. I don't know from nothing, either about Mr. Pratt or the Hungarian Army, although I will say we have overlooked a very significant clue.

I call your attention to the statement of the German news agency, the famed DNB. You may remember this particular statement. It had to do with the "barbarous" methods employed by the Red Army. Soviet soldiers, the Germans complained bitterly, knew nothing of military conventions or traditions. When surrounded they refused to surrender. Worse, in some cases German forces, while waiting for the Soviets to surrender, were cruelly counter-attacked and destroyed.

Now the DNB did not mention either Fletcher Pratt or the Hungarian Army, but I think we can assume that in this case an injury to one is an injury to all, or vice versa. If the Red Army has violated all Hitler's rules, I believe we may deduce they have employed the same brutal, unfair tactics on Fletcher Pratt and the Hungarian High Command. As the DNB pointed out, twenty years of living in the Soviet civilization has so corrupted the spirit of the Red Army that its soldiers use camouflage, snipers, parachutes, and other foul tricks, the better to trip up *Kultur's* noble defenders, the Brownshirts. And have these methods done Fletcher Pratt any good? *Or* the Hungarian Army? I think we can safely say: *No.*

Here I think it is only decent to stop for the unshed tear. It now becomes clear that Soviet fighters have prepared a horrid trap for the innocent Hungarian admiral and the hard-working Mr. Fletcher Pratt. After all, Mr. Pratt did his very best to sum up the Soviet military situation. With his nose to the grindstone, and his oil lamp flickering into the night, Mr. Pratt studied the interesting and informative works of the late Mr. Leon Trotsky, the current Mr. Alexander Kerensky, and other well known analysts of the Red Army. More, Mr. Pratt was no laggard, to gather information merely from the printed page. He undoubtedly boarded a Pennsy train for Washington and stood around meekly listening while the horses opened their mouths and gave out the absolutely foolproof dope on those Russians. That famous Fletcher Pratt last line—"Two weeks!"—was but an echo of Washington military chatter on the same fascinating subject. I suppose we may draw the conclusion that the Kremlin has been preparing the great Fletcher Pratt debacle for some twenty years. As for Admiral Horthy, as I do not read Hungarian I cannot say what his sources of information might have been—I may only point out that the admiral has obviously been reading the wrong newspaper.

Of course, friends, we must not leap to conclusions. Perhaps Fletcher Pratt and the Hungarian Army have not been kidnapped, or otherwise disposed of by methods foul, if not illegal. Perhaps Mr. Pratt and the Hungarian Army are only suffering from a prolonged case of amnesia. Who knows? They may turn up again in their old haunts.

Incidentally, I feel there is no truth to the rumor that Louis Fischer has disguised himself as the Hungarian Army and escaped to Lisbon. Louis Fischer may have retired to Portugal all right, but there is absolutely no evidence he was hanging around the River Glotz a month ago. Besides, our Louis ain't no admiral; vice versa, in fact. And I must say I think it's rather unsporting for people to go around saying, "Hist! The inside dope is that Fletcher Pratt is a case of mistaken identity. His real initials are L. F. *Get* it?"

Friends! Is it fair to sully the reputation of Fletcher (Two Weeks) Pratt? He may have been wrong; in fact, he was wrong. But I am sure he has his pride. He isn't Louie Fischer. Or is he?

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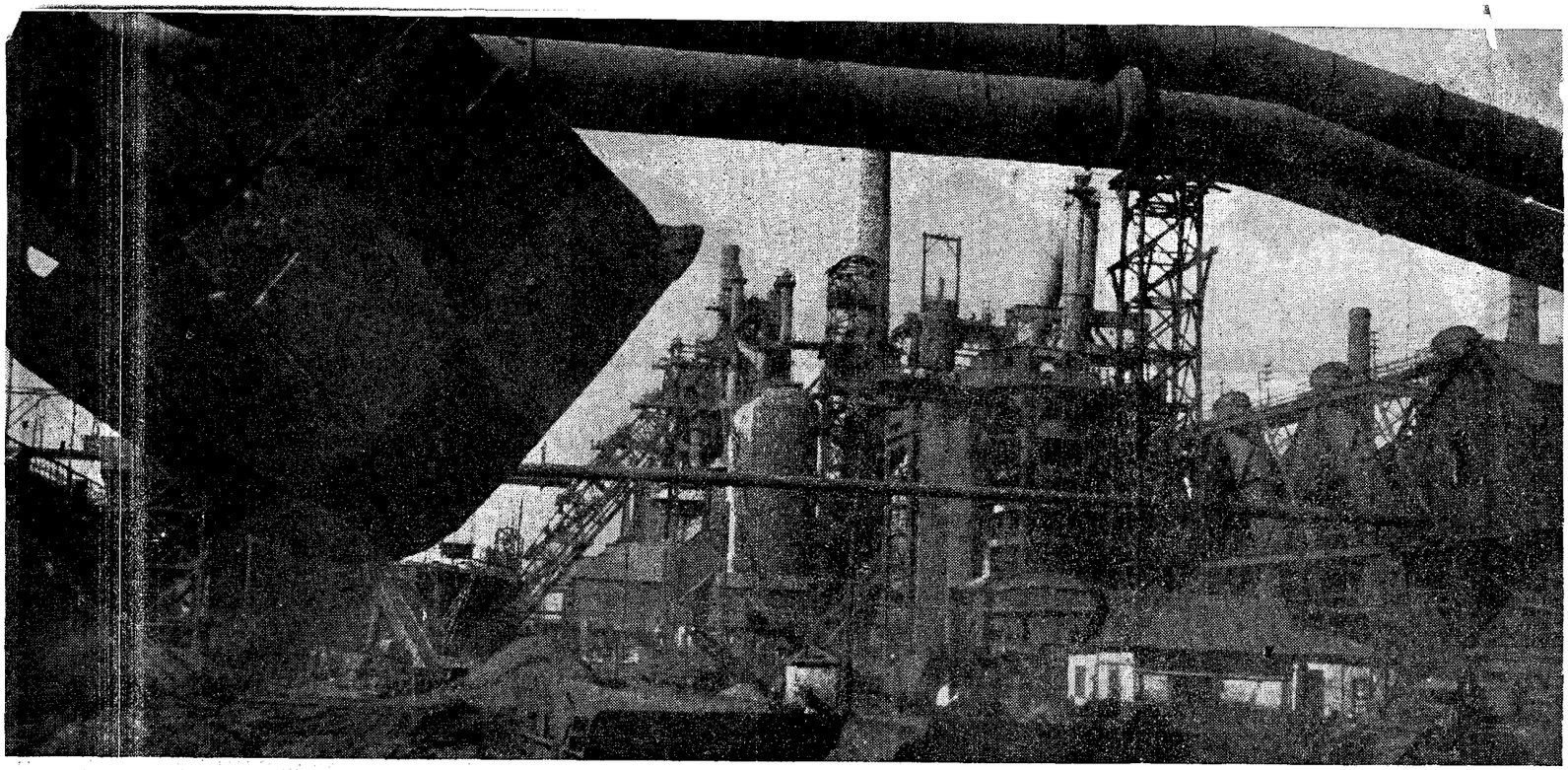

Sovfoto

SOVIET ECONOMIC POWER

An analysis of the USSR's productive capacities in its struggle against Nazi Germany. The rational geographic distribution of facilities. Agriculture's and industry's rate of growth.

AMONG the questions evoked by the outbreak of hostilities between the Third Reich and the Soviet Union is the problem of how well the industrial structure of the USSR can cope with a modern war. What do we know about the economic potential of the Soviet Union? To what extent is Germany facing a different Russia now from that of some twenty-seven years ago?

A few decades ago Russia was one of the most backward countries of Europe. Her natural resources were vast, but undeveloped. As early as 1901 Henry Cabot Lodge visited Russia to find out whether Russia's natural resources could be developed, and if so, how soon they would reach a point of rivalry with the United States. Mr. Lodge's conclusions on Russia were rather pessimistic. He said that industrial development

> certainly will never come to pass until individualism of effort is encouraged and personal energy rewarded. It is also true that if the Russian people should be converted into an industrial and economic organization, it would be necessary to gather them into towns and cities, to concentrate their labor and to educate them. . . . When that is done, the docile peasant, with his depressed look, his quiet ways, and his simple faith in God and Czar, will have disappeared. His place will be taken by the active and energetic workingman, and the present system of autocracy will come to a speedy end.

Czarist Russia was not only backward, but it was getting relatively more backward as time progressed. Reporting on the third Five Year Plan on March 14, 1939, V. Molotov, Soviet Foreign Commissar, compared as follows the pig iron production in 1900 and 1913: "The per capita production of pig iron in Czarist Russia was one-eighth of the output in the USA in 1900, while in 1913 it had receded to only one-eleventh of that country's output. In comparison with Germany, the output of pig iron in Russia was approximately one-sixth in 1900, while in 1913 it had receded to one-eighth. In comparison with France it was one-third in 1900, while in 1913 it had receded to one-fourth."

The conditions thus described have in the last two decades undergone a most profound change. Since the end of the so-called reconstruction period in the middle twenties a very rapid industrial revival began in the Soviet Union. As a result of three Five Year Plans, the backward empire of the Czars was transformed into a modern industrial country, and the Red Army has behind it an economy vastly different in kind from that on which the Czar's troops depended. The best way of judging the industrial progress of the Soviet Union is to ascertain the approximate rate of expansion, for in this lies the key to the understanding of its economic potential.

The very rapid expansion of Soviet industrial production could be documented by a great many examples. Here a few examples will be used to illustrate the general point that the *rate of growth* in the USSR has of recent years been exceptionally high, particularly during the decade marked by depression in most other countries.

FIGURES for the national income of the Soviet Union are obtainable for several years back and are all expressed in rubles of 1926-27 prices. The national income for 1913, the last pre-war year of Czarist Russia, was twenty-one billion rubles. By 1917 national income declined to sixteen billion, and in 1921 it was down to eight billion rubles. Not until 1926 did the national income exceed the 1913 figure, when it reached 21.7 billion rubles. Since that year the national income has been rising at a constantly increasing pace. In rubles of 1926-27 prices, the figures were: thirty-five billion rubles in 1930; 55.8 billion in 1934, and 96.3 billion in 1937. The national income in 1940 was 125.5 billion rubles, or almost exactly six times as great as the comparable figure for 1913.

Since methods of computing the national income vary from country to country, and since it appears impossible adequately to convert rubles into dollars, it is only possible here to compare the rate of change in the national income as between the Soviet Union and the United States. The national income of the United States was over eighty billion dollars in 1929. In no year since then has this figure been exceeded, although it is expected that in 1941 the national income will strike a new high. Thus the period of economic depression in which the American national income ceased growing coincided with the years in which the Soviet Union more than trebled its national income.

Turning to total industrial production, we observe an even more remarkable rate of

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growth. In fact the very rapid increase in the national income of the Soviet Union must be attributed primarily to the unusual expansion in industrial production. In 1900 the value of industrial production was 4,650 million rubles. (These are again rubles of the 1926-27 prices.) By 1913, the last pre-war year of Czarist Russia, the value of industrial production grew to 10,251 million rubles, increasing approximately two and one-half times. The devastation of World War I, the civil war, the blockade, and the famine brought the value of industrial production down to 1,410 million rubles in 1920, or 13.9 percent of the 1913 level. Not until 1926 did the value of industrial production exceed—and then by less than one billion rubles—the 1913 figure.[1] After the pre-war level was again reached, an unusually rapid advance took place from year to year. In presenting value figures for industrial output Stalin reported, in March 1939, that industrial production for the year 1938 equaled 100.4 billion rubles, as contrasted with 11 billion rubles in 1913.[2] Thus while the industrial advance from 1900 to 1913 in Czarist Russia was approximately two and a half times, in the Soviet Union from 1930 to 1938 alone the growth in the value of all industrial production was over four times. From these figures, as well as many others, it is quite clear that the rate of growth in the Soviet Union is much higher than in the years of the most rapid expansion under the Czarist empire and can scarcely be regarded as a mere continuation of progress that was interrupted by the Revolution. In industrial expansion, the USSR seems definitely to have established a new tempo of its own.

Here it may be appropriate again, as in the case of the growth of the national income, to resort to some comparison with the United States, a country with considerably greater productive capacity than the Soviet Union. During the depression decade of the 1930's industrial production in the United States never exceeded the high established in 1929. If we take the old index, before the figures were reworked on a new base in the second half of 1940, we find that in 1937 industrial production in the United States just missed reaching the previous high. (The new, reworked Federal Reserve index shows 1937 as higher than 1929.) Now, on the basis of the new index, predictions are being made that 1941 industrial production may exceed 1929 by one-third.

In the field of industrial production, as was the case with the national income, it was in the depression decade of the thirties that the Soviet Union was expanding its industrial production at an unprecedented rate, while the more advanced industrial countries such as the United States were experiencing difficulties in reaching the old peak. One must of course bear in mind that in total production the United States is very far ahead of the Soviet Union. What the Soviet Union does demonstrate is a rate of production growth that was in recent years far greater than that of any other industrial country.

THE SWIFT industrial expansion has transformed the Soviet Union from a country that only a few years ago was primarily agricultural to one that is now predominantly industrial. As late as 1928 industrial production only accounted for slightly more than one-half of the total production. In 1937, however, industrial output provided 77.4 percent of total production. We are therefore now dealing with an industrial country, which has already become a serious contestant for second place among the great industrial powers of the world. In 1913 the industrial production of Czarist Russia equaled 2.6 percent of the industrial production of the world. In 1937 the output of Soviet industry reached 13.7 percent of world industrial production. While in the earlier year, 1913, Russian industrial production was 6.9 percent of American industrial production, in 1937 it was equal to 32.7 percent of American production in the same year.

In quantity of production the USSR had overtaken and surpassed England and Germany in 1937 figures and was, prior to the outbreak of World War II, behind only as compared to the United States. But quantity alone is not sufficient, if the quality is deficient. A great deal of argument has been carried on around this particular point, namely, how efficient is this Soviet industry that has grown so rapidly? The best answer can probably be provided by comparative figures on the productivity of labor. Soviet statisticians have computed comparative tables on labor productivity, which are expressed in abstract ruble units, apparently specifically devised for this kind of comparison. According to this tabulation, one industrial worker produced in the course of one year the following values in 1928: United States—28,160; Germany—10,225; England—8,239; USSR—4,557. In 1937 one industrial worker produced per year: United States—28,107; Germany—11,726; England—11,045; USSR—11,386. Thus, the productivity of one industrial

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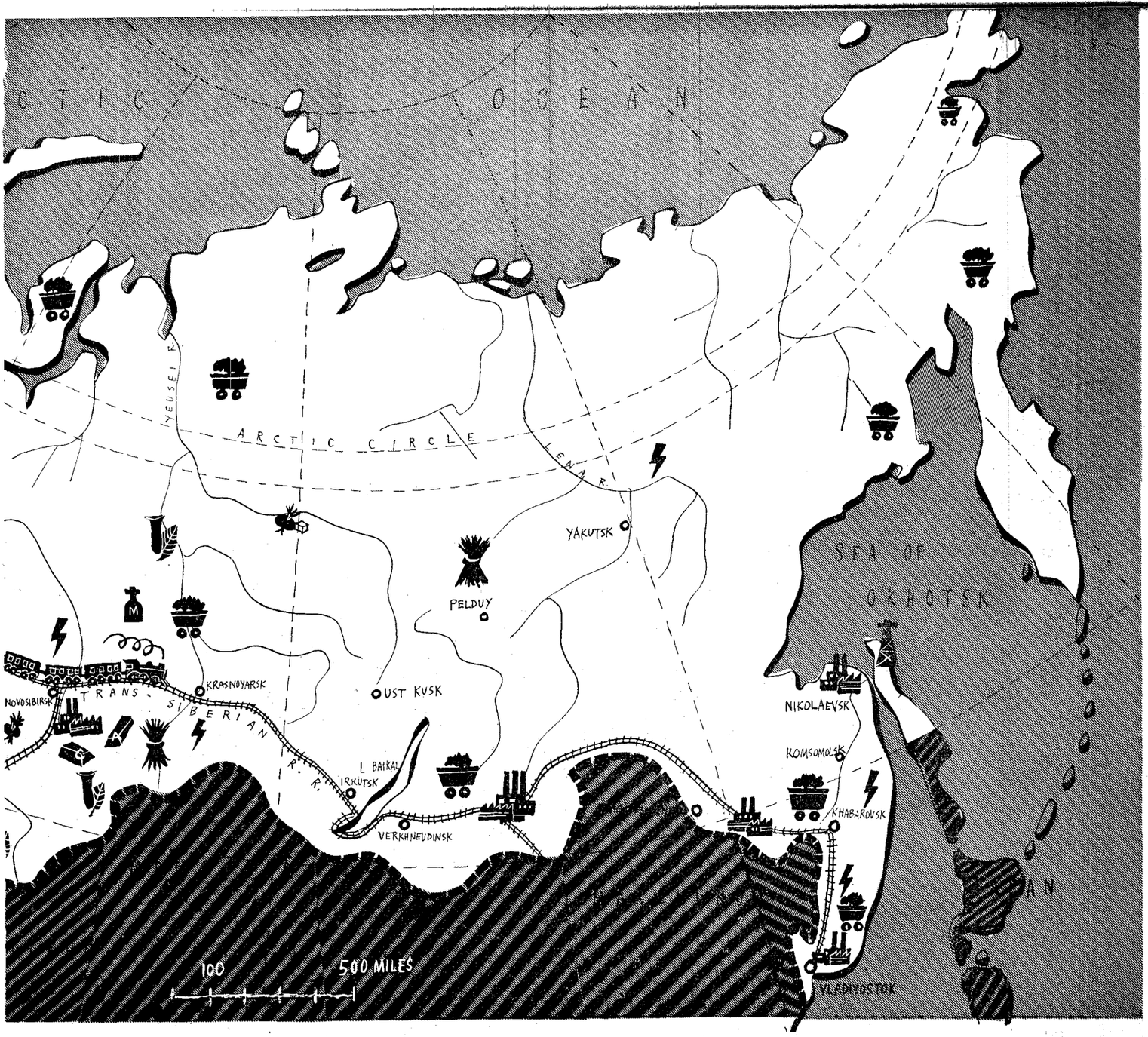

worker per year in the Soviet Union more than doubled from 1928 to 1937. While in 1937 the annual productivity of one worker in the USSR was still considerably less than half that of one worker in the United States, it was a bare fraction below the figure for Germany and slightly above that for England.

A GREAT DEAL of discussion has also been provoked by the percentage of waste in the final product turned out by Soviet industry. No comparative figures directly bearing on waste in production can be obtained for the leading industrial countries. That is why, in this instance, an attempt has been made to throw some light on the subject by presenting productivity of labor figures, which are available. In the spring of 1939, when Stalin and Molotov reported to the Eighteenth Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union on the industrial progress and on future plans, they both stated that the USSR had set itself the task of exceeding the other industrial countries not only in the absolute quantity of production, but also in per capita production. Merely to exceed England or Germany in the quantity of some particular product would still leave the USSR, with its present population of nearly 200,000,000, far behind in terms of per capita production. Two years ago Soviet leaders pointed this out and formulated their objective in terms of bringing per capita production up to the level of other leading industrial powers in the course of the next ten to fifteen years. In this connection the problem of efficiency and of the elimination of waste is of paramount importance. The special conference of the Communist Party leadership assembled in Moscow in February 1941 devoted most of its deliberations to exactly this problem. It is thus fairly obvious that the problem of increasing efficiency and eliminating waste was very much to the fore in the Soviet Union even before the outbreak of World War II.

In discussing the rapidity of Soviet industrial progress one thing must be definitely borne in mind. In the last few years a constantly increasing share of the budget has been diverted to military expenditures. In 1937 out of a budget of nearly ninety-four billion rubles over seventeen billion went for defense; in 1940 out of a budget of 173 billion rubles fifty-six billion went for defense; and the plan for 1941 envisaged a defense expenditure of nearly seventy-one billion out of a total budget of 216 billion. This enormous growth of military expenditures, which recent events have proven entirely warranted, has undoubtedly interfered with the earlier tempo of production of consumers' goods. The diversion of so much activity into military channels has also had a real effect on the availability of statistical information as to general progress in the USSR. Whole sections of statistical data that previously were published regularly have disappeared from Soviet publications with the growth of the danger of invasion. In this respect the Soviet Union has simply followed

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the pattern set by most other European countries: not to publish data that may be of use to the enemy.

CZARIST RUSSIA used to be the granary of Europe while itself experiencing periodic famines. Since the first Five Year Plan and the collectivization of agriculture, the Soviet Union has had a mode of agricultural production different from any other. Although expansion in agriculture is necessarily a much slower process than in industry, the area of arable land in the USSR was 28.8 percent greater in 1937 than in 1913. The increase in the harvest collected in that year, as compared to 1913, is expressed in the following percentages: wheat, 114.5; rye, 46.5; oats, 54.4; corn, 175.9; cotton, 241.6; and sugar beets, 100.1. Notable progress has been achieved particularly in industrial crops, such as cotton. The cultivation of some of these was practically unknown in Czarist days. So far as concerns grain, the center of production has been shifting to the southeastern and eastern parts of the country, a very important factor in view of the possibilities of invasion from the west. Under mediocre weather conditions the Soviet Union now produces more than the bumper crops in the pre-Revolutionary days. Roughly, the old maximum crops have become the minimum above which agricultural production can be held even under unfavorable circumstances.

Another and quite unique feature of the Soviet economy is the planned distribution of economic facilities throughout the country. In Czarist Russia the industry that existed was concentrated in a few areas, a large portion of it right on the border of the old Russian areas of Poland. Only 20 percent of all industry was located in the Ukraine, the Urals were responsible for only 4.7 percent of total industrial production, Siberia for 2.4 percent and Turkestan for 1.8 percent. It has already been indicated that the grain-production center of the Soviet Union has been moving east. The same applies to industry. Again this is not a new development. From the very first, Soviet leadership, starting with Lenin, who wrote on the subject as early as April 1918, stressed the point that each area should contain within itself a variety of types of production. At the Seventeenth Party Congress in 1934 Stalin reported on the construction of new centers of industrial concentration that had been undertaken in a number of outlying regions under the first Five Year Plan. The geographical distribution of industrial production, as expressed in rubles of 1926-27 prices, has changed as follows from 1913 to 1937; for the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic from 7.9 to 69.2 billion rubles; for the Ukrainian SSR from 2.2 to 17.4 billion; for the White Russian SSR from 116 million to 1.9 billion rubles; for the Azerbaidzhan SSR from 402 million to 2.4 billion; for the Uzbek SSR from 270 million to 1.7 billion; for the Kazak SSR from sixty-seven million to just short of one billion rubles. New coal and iron ore mining regions have been opened up in the Urals and Eastern Siberia; south of the Urals is developing "the second Baku," a new oil extracting center; and the Far East is building industries and mining along most diversified lines.

The nationality policy of the Soviet Union is particularly suited to that type of development. The Soviet Government has devoted a great deal of money and effort to raising the cultural level of previously backward and suppressed minorities, and it has been recognized that cultural rejuvenation must go hand in hand with economic advance. As a result, economic development of the outlying areas has been more rapid than the advance in the USSR taken as a whole. If total production in the USSR increased 10.9 times from 1913 to 1940, in the region of the Urals, in Siberia, and in the Far East the increase was 14.5 times, in the Armenian SSR 22.3 times, in the Georgian SSR 26.4 times, and so on. The growth of population in all these areas was also much more rapid between the censuses of 1926 and 1939 than in the older, more populated areas, as the establishment of industry in previously undeveloped regions has attracted numerous people from central Russia. Stalin indicated as far back as 1934 that the old division into industrial and agricultural areas had become obsolete in the Soviet Union. According to plans which the Soviets laid down at the very beginning, new industries are developed close to the sources of raw materials and constant effort is sustained to make each economic area as versatile in its type of production as the natural resources permit. In the last few years it has been the policy to create for each new center of production its so-called "double." In other words, all of the one type of production was not allowed to concentrate in one spot; its "double" or a similar center was being built at some other end of the vast expanse of the Soviet republics. Thus, the industrial center of gravity of the Soviet Union has been shifting to the east; each region has been fostered to develop economic self-support to a degree commensurate with the natural resources available, particularly in regard to food and fuel; and duplicate facilities at various ends of the Soviet Union have been established. Such a distribution of industrial resources puts the Soviet Union in an advantageous position as compared with other countries of Europe from the point of view of resisting invasion from any of its borders.

The Soviet Union is now also self-sufficient to a greater degree than any other country in Europe. In 1937 it had to import tea, wool, aluminum, copper, lead, and rubber, but could rely on its own production to 100 percent for wheat, cotton, sugar, coal, oil, iron ore, superphosphates, manganese ore, agricultural machinery, lumber and lumber products, and paper. This situation is in marked contrast to the degree of self-sufficiency both in 1913 and in the early thirties. Through extensive and intensive exploration, considerable success has been registered in filling in the blanks on the list of essential raw materials.

FROM THIS BRIEF SURVEY, the following conclusions seem evident regarding the economic potential of the Soviet Union. The country has been drawn into a major war in the midst of a period of tremendous industrial expansion. The rate at which this expansion was proceeding was not only an accelerating one, but also perhaps one of the highest ever achieved in a period of rapid industrialization. Soviet industrial development happened to coincide in time with a period of rather severe economic stagnation in the rest of the world. The rapid increase in production figures was accompanied not only by a sharp rise in the defense budget, but also by a continued increase in amounts devoted to education, health, and other cultural purposes, and the standard of living for the last few years was rising rapidly. In these last two respects the nature of Soviet expansion differs from the rise in production in Germany, where during the last several years increased productive activity, largely for military purposes, was carried out at the expense of the standard of living and the cultural advance of the people. Although progress in agriculture has been much less rapid than in industry, the new organization of agricultural production, the wide use of tractors, and other mechanized equipment, and the placing of agriculture on a more scientific basis have not only insured the adequacy of the food supply, but have permitted the accumulation of large reserves. Finally, the rational geographic distribution of production facilities and the relatively high degree of self-sufficiency place the Soviet Union in a position of advantage not enjoyed by most other industrial countries.

Hence, it appears that the economic potential of the Soviet Union for purposes of conducting a modern war, even against the most formidable industrial nation of Europe, is beyond comparison with that of Czarist Russia. This economic potential probably exceeds many of the estimates of Soviet economic strength so frequently made of late by observers from the outside. The economic strength of the Soviet Union may indeed prove decisive, particularly if the USSR is destined to wage a long struggle of attrition with the economic forces at the command of the Third Reich.

(From the "American Review on the Soviet Union," August 1941.)

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[1] For value of industrial production of the USSR for 1900, 1913, 1920, and 1926, see: *Sotsialisticheskoe Stroitelstvo SSSR* (Socialist Construction of the USSR). TsUNKhU Gosplana SSSR, Moscow, 1936, p. 2. This series is given in rubles of 1926-27 prices. It is based on the 1913 coverage of industries and does not extend beyond 1934.

[2] A new series on the value of industrial production of "all industries" covers a wider range of industries and is also expressed in rubles of 1926-27 prices. See the same source as above and also Joseph Stalin's Report delivered March 10, 1939, *The Land of Socialism Today and Tomorrow*, pp. 20-21. The "all industries" series contains a recomputed 1913 figure.

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HOW I FEEL ABOUT THE WAR

Communications from outstanding artists and writers. Max Weber comments that all progressives will have to contribute their might unstintingly toward a victory over Hitler.

"New Masses" has invited a number of prominent individuals to comment on the Soviet-Nazi war and on the question of aid to the USSR and Britain in order to defeat Hitlerism. In publishing them, "New Masses" does not necessarily agree with all that is said. Whatever differences there may be, however, we feel that the most important thing at this time is to unite all those who wish the defeat of Hitlerism behind a program of full assistance to the Soviet Union, Britain, and the peoples fighting Nazism.
—The Editors.

Ralph Barton Perry

Professor of Philosophy, Harvard University

The present crisis has to be met on two fronts, the moral and the military. On the moral front we must keep alive our own freedoms and endeavor to realize them more perfectly. We must ally ourselves with those who are animated with a like love of freedom, both those who have already lost their freedom and those whose freedom is threatened. Among the last Russia is now numbered. How complete our moral understanding with Russia can be depends on facts of which we are ignorant, and on future developments. But as a country whose national independence is threatened, Russia is already to that extent our moral ally against the Nazi aim of world domination. To the moral front also belongs the future world settlement. All of the nations conquered or threatened by the Axis must devote themselves unitedly to the creation of a world in which nations can live at peace with one another, each in accordance with its own genius and culture. Such a world settlement must also provide for the economic well-being of the masses of the people in all countries. It must, in short, rest upon a popular as well as an international basis.

The military front is Hitler and Hitlerism, the head and front of the Axis and the one deadly enemy, the defeat of which is of supreme urgency. The British Commonwealth of Nations, China, Russia, the Latin American countries, and the United States must pool their resources and coordinate their strategy to accomplish this end. To keep routes of communication free from German interference, and to guard all naval and air approaches to these countries, is the first necessity. But to achieve the required military victory it is equally necessary that all of the countries opposed to Hitler should acquire a spirit of initiative and self-confidence. Only so can the victory be decisive and prompt; and so avoid decades of destructive war.

Samuel Ornitz

Hollywood Film Writer, Novelist, Author of "Haunch, Paunch, and Jowl," etc.

Let us today after terrible carnage, after the enslavement of half a billion people—temporary enslavement, I hope—let us today recognize *that the peace that now must be won can only be won with the help of Russia;* just as we must recognize that Hitler resorted to the desperate move of attacking the Soviet Union because he also recognized that truth. He can win only by breaking up any possible combination of Britain, the USA, and the USSR in war or peace. Surely Hitler's political observers knew that the powerful nation of Great Britain, growing stronger all the time, allied with the USSR, growing stronger all the time, and the United States, growing stronger all the time, could and would smother that monster rat—just as collective security could have smothered him. That is what made Hitler resort to the most desperate move of his life: for the purpose of breaking the crushing pincer of the USA, Great Britain, and the USSR! More than a military move, it is a political move. He counts on the Munichers to yelp and yowl: "All aboard the wave of the future!"

And now the pincer movement of Great Britain, the USSR, and the USA must come into play during a *war* situation. This means that we cannot relent one moment in our vigilance, in our aid to the British and Soviet peoples, in our devotion to the objective of crushing fascism, once and for all and forever!

Max Weber

Famous American Artist

Time is too precious. Not a moment must be wasted in retracing errors of the past. Mr. Churchill's radio address to the people of America and indirectly to the people of the entire world that memorable Sunday afternoon, a few hours after Hitler's attack on the Soviet Union, is the first of many chapters in the new history of mankind. In this new book will be inscribed unprecedented deeds of valor, courage, heroism, changes of heart and mind.

But all progressive, liberty-loving people with unshaken faith in democracy and its tenets will have to contribute their might unstintingly and in iron-knit unity toward a lasting and uncompromising victory over Hitler and his hordes. Let us not forget for one moment that while the British blockade is our front on the high seas, so is the Red Army our front on land. And no more than the fake communiques and deceptive photographic fragments of Nazi "victories" can win the war for Hitler, can merely our best wishes and most ardent hopes help the Red Army in its superhuman struggle to exterminate Hitler's "Aryan" reptiles and clean out the venomous slime they leave behind upon anything they tread or touch. We must urge our government to send to Russia, Britain, and China the greatest amount of our best war material and implements as soon as possible to augment their strength and fire their courage in their heroic and inspiring fight against the most treacherous enemy of mankind. We must prove to the Axis gangsters that Stalin was right in his dictum that no army is invincible, particularly when faced by one that cannot be Petainized or Vichyated.

Gropper

Emil Lengyel

Journalist and Authority on Central and Eastern European Problems. Author of "Turkey" and other books.

As one who lived through some of the early Hungarian White Terror and who saw the rise of Hitlerism in Germany and elsewhere it is my conviction that we are faced with a social gangrene rather than a localized sickness. An amputation may be necessary, but that is not all.

We are ready to fight Hitlerism, both in its German and its Japanese form. The showdown appears to be inevitable. But it will not solve our problem. The gangrenous putrefaction has already set in even in this country. While fighting Hitler's racial intolerance we have done nothing, so far as is known to me, to mend our own ways toward the Negroes. While rejecting the Nazis' doctrine of the *Herrenrasse,* we still reserve the bulwarks of our nation for the privileged use of certain strains. A foreign name is still a great handicap in many national efforts, and foreign birth is often a mortal sin. Exceptions merely serve to prove the truth of this statement, or cover up a flaw in our armor.

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Wisdom may counsel forgetting about our points of division and concentrating upon the great problem of national self-defense. But we must beware of letting ourselves be content with fighting one type of intolerance merely with another one—even though the latter is far more civilized and far less obvious. We can learn even from the enemy. Now that he has challenged us to prove our superiority, we must be superior not merely in physical but also in spiritual armor. We must establish a real democracy, and not merely a camouflaged one, if we are to deserve our ultimate success. Above all, we must realize that our victory will endure only if it is based upon a way of life that is in harmony with the social trend of progress and understanding.

By all means, let us give Great Britain, China, and the Soviet Union all the aid we can. They are fighting our battle. But let us not pretend that by extending aid to them and even helping them actively in the war, we have performed our duty and can sit back in peace. Social injustices must be rectified at home, not to speak of political and economic problems. Final victory must be achieved in the legislative chambers rather than on the battlefields.

Walter Pach

Noted American Artist and Writer on Art

Speaking merely as an individual (for my work as an artist does not prepare me to pronounce on issues outside my profession), I am in favor of any measures that look toward removing the curse of Nazism from the world. I therefore hope that, if necessary, the government will declare war and to that extent cooperate with Soviet Russia.

Henry Epstein

Solicitor General, New York State

You ask for my comment on the Nazi-Soviet war and the question of American aid to the Soviet Union in that war. The United States is in greater actual danger from the Nazi military aim to dominate the world than from Russian ideology. Therefore I welcome the military conflict between Russia and Germany in the hope that it may be of aid to England and the United States in the immediate danger in which they stand. Since you use the term "Nazi-Soviet" war, I feel impelled to enlarge upon my conclusion thus stated.

There was a time when I thought the ideologies of the Nazis and Soviets antipathetic. As a result it seemed to me inevitable that military conflict between the Reich and Soviet Russia would follow from that ideological antipathy. Events, however, proved otherwise and I cannot refrain from expressing my regret and indignation that Russia should have so long actively aided this military and ideological enemy of the United States.

As a firm adherent of constitutional democracy in the Anglo-American tradition, as a convinced believer in a capitalist society based on private property and profit motive controlled by democratic political government, I have viewed with hostility Nazism, Fascism, and Communism. My immediate reaction to the invasion of Russia by the Nazis was somewhat akin to that I had experienced when Poland, Finland, Yugoslavia, Greece, and the other countries were invaded. Each fought gallantly to stay the advancing tide of a way of life which destroyed its own.

We now know, if any doubted it heretofore, that the fate of this nation and the preservation of its principles of constitutional democracy are intimately and inextricably identified with the destruction of Nazism. That defeat, the extermination of its military threat and its ideological counterpart, must be our first consideration. It follows that all aid should be given to any people who stand ready to fight and thus stay the march of the Nazi scourge. Russia played Germany's game until Hitler felt ready to strike Russia down. It is to be hoped that the Russian people will stand firm and continue the fight until the combined efforts of all so resisting will remove the Nazi threat and Hitlerism from the earth.

[The problems raised by Mr. Epstein's letter have been discussed in detail by NEW MASSES in editorial statements during the past few weeks. We can here only summarize our position. We are especially interested in one phrase of Mr. Epstein's letter, in which he says that there was a time when he thought "the ideologies of the Nazis and the Soviets were antipathetic." But the fact that Germany and the Soviet Union did not go to war with each other seems to have convinced him otherwise, and he appears to have jumped to the conclusion that in the nineteen months after the Soviet-German non-aggression pact, the USSR was really aiding Hitler's cause. If we pursue his own logic, it should now be possible for him, and others like him, to acknowledge that today there is no longer any question about the fact that the Nazi and Soviet ideologies are not identical at all. If the absence of war between these two states were proof in Mr. Epstein's mind that their ideologies were no longer antipathetic, then the actuality of war should prove the opposite: namely, that their ideologies are in reality very antipathetic.

But if the Solicitor General grants this, then perhaps he is also ready to reconsider the rest of his position. He may be ready to ask himself whose fault it was that the alliance with Britain was not consummated in 1939 when it could have saved peace. And he may be ready to ask whether the USSR in the past two years was really allied with Germany and "played Germany's game." In our opinion, the evidence shows that the USSR endeavored to maintain neutrality toward both sides in the conflict, a necessary neutrality in view of the well known hostility of Britain, France, and the United States. And the USSR sought to trade with both sides. Mr. Epstein will recall that it was not the USSR which during that period created obstacles to the development of trade with the USA.

There is one other statement of Mr. Epstein's that we would take issue with: his inclusion of Finland among the countries that were the victims of invasion. On this point too events run counter to the Solicitor General's position. It is notable that while there is today no independent Poland, Yugoslavia, or Greece, there is—or was till the Nazis were invited to take over by the Finnish government—an independent Finland. That also indicates that the Soviet-Finnish war belongs in an entirely different category. It is Hitler, Mannerheim, Ryti, and Tanner that have destroyed Finland's independence and converted it into a vassal of Germany. And it was against them and their friends among the British and French appeasers that the Soviet action in 1939-40 was directed.

Despite these differences, we are happy that Mr. Epstein and NEW MASSES agree on the main point: the necessity of giving all aid to every nation fighting Hitlerism. Those who stand together on this question cannot let disagreements about other matters prevent close collaboration.—THE EDITORS.]

"So long, boys, I'm going on another vacation." Turnbull

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Hopkins' Trip

HARRY HOPKINS' dramatic visit to Moscow was a tribute to what the President has already described as the "magnificent resistance" of the Red Army. If the Soviet armed forces were in as bad a shape as the Nazis had claimed, or as some high-placed Washington observers originally believed, there would not have been much point in Mr. Hopkins' visit. It is because the Soviet peoples' heroic defense amazes and heartens the whole anti-fascist world, that encouraging developments are beginning to take place toward the realization of anti-fascist cooperation among the great powers. The most significant development of the week comes as we go to press, the exchange of notes between the United States and the Soviet Union in which the former pledges "the speedy completion and delivery" of war materials to the fighting fronts. This is clearly an outcome of Hopkins' visit, and his favorable impression of the Soviet Union's optimism and confident resistance. Washington has at last recognized the cardinal fact in the new world situation, namely that the attack on the Soviet Union threatens the security and independence, not only of the Soviet Union but also of other nations, and that "the strengthening of the Soviet Union's resistance," as the note puts it, "is in the interest of the national defense of the United States." The issuance of "unlimited licenses" for Soviet purchases here therefore transcends questions of trade. The United States has in effect underwritten the Anglo-Soviet alliance. Thus a coalition of the three most powerful nations on earth is coming into being, a welcome development for all peoples who want to see Hitler defeated quickly. What the world waits for now is a British Expeditionary Force on the continent.

The British press has been talking about the possibilities of an invasion. Last week, there was a fleeting indication of Anglo-Soviet cooperation in the form of air raids over the Finnish corridor, near Petsamo, and the Arctic town of Kirkenes. Our own Colonel T. this week (page 11) discusses four different routes for such an invasion, through the four peninsulas of Europe: the Scandinavian, the Iberian, the Italian, and the Balkan. Without pretending to have precise military information, it seems to us that the Scandinavian route is obviously the best and most direct. This is the way to shorten the war, to make it less costly for the heroic men and women of nations fighting fascism. Hitler promised the German people that he would avoid a two-front war. The best way to weaken him inside Germany, the quickest way to make the V campaign a reality, is to open the Western Front. Hopkins' trip will appear in retrospect even more audacious and encouraging than it seemed, if it prepared the path, from the American end, for a British invasion of Europe.

IN A MILITARY WAY, the situation does not seem to have changed on the Eastern Front. Around Smolensk the Nazis are still stalled and they are losing heavily in the face of Soviet counter-attacks. The same seems to be true in the Leningrad direction, while, after several air raids on Moscow, the Nazis have admittedly done nothing more than local damage. In the north, the Finns are reporting heavy Soviet pressure; only in the south, in the Kiev direction, does the Nazi war machine seem to make any progress, although heavily contested. As we go to press, it is too early to say how the threat against Kiev is developing: fighting goes on somewhat south of this historic Ukrainian capital. Meanwhile Soviet reports declare that early harvesting is taking the grain off the collective farms so that where the invader does not find the fields burned, he often finds them shorn. And stories keep pouring in of the unprecedented mobilization of the Soviet people in industry. In every field of work, especially in mining, oil drilling, and metal fabrication, wartime patriotism is fulfilling the peacetime plans in record time.

Diplomatically, also, the past week developed favorably for the USSR. First, there was the agreement with the Polish government in exile, guaranteeing an independent Poland and the formation of a Polish army on Soviet soil. And it seems that similar agreements are in the making with Yugoslavia and possibly Greece. The Polish agreement nullifies the Soviet-German border arrangements of the fall of 1939. It definitely buries the canard that the Soviets, like Czarist Russia, were opposed to an independent Polish nation. Of course, many unsolved problems remain, especially the problem of the Ukrainian and Byelo-Russian minorities who have already rejoined their respective Soviet republics. Many Polish conservatives balk at the idea of losing these minority peoples and the lands on which they live. But the issue has wisely been left to the future, when precise definitions of boundaries will be in order. The job today is to defend the very existence of free peoples in Europe.

The V campaign seems to have produced its first results in the news that Norway has been placed under martial law. The Nazis now admit that their much touted civilian administration, under Vikdun Quisling and the Nazi administrator, Terboven, has failed. This is the only possible interpretation of the declaration of martial law for the entire country, unless it be that Hitler is already preparing for a British invasion from the Norwegian north.

Germany, Too

EVERY day that passes brings new reports of mass discontent in Europe. In Rumania hundreds of people have been shot for assisting the Soviet forces and sabotaging the Rumanian mercenaries; in Serbia, the guerrilla warfare goes on, although savagely repressed, while from Holland there is news of large scale strikes and popular actions against the invader. Within Germany itself signs are also beginning to multiply of popular discontent. The Nazi hope of confining the wounded to Hungarian hospitals has not been realized; troop trains overflowing with wounded soldiers are pouring into East Prussia, so that the German people are learning of the million and a half casualties in the East. From Stockholm come reports that the Nazis are undertaking new persecutions of the Jews, with Gestapo investigations spreading to many non-Jews as well. Even local Nazis, in villages near Koenigsberg, have been reported under arrest because they doubted Hitler's wisdom in attacking the Soviets.

At the same time, reports multiply that various Nazi leaders are increasing their bank balances in foreign countries, as for example, Baldur von Schirach, the Nazi youth leader, was reported to have done only last week in Switzerland. In New York the *Herald Tribune* made public an exclusive story to the effect that Fritz Thyssen, supposedly on the "outs" with the Nazis, has some $3,000,000 in cash salted away in American bank holdings. The *Herald Tribune* speculates that Thyssen may not really have quarreled with the Nazis at all, and may be building up a reserve against the day when some of his pals will be wanting to leave the Third Reich. There is no way of knowing how many of the stories about Europe are true, and in which particulars. But there is no doubt that the remarkable stand of the Soviet forces, plus the prospect of imminent action in the West, fills all of Europe with the hope of liberation.

Siam

THE crisis in the Far East has not abated; in fact, if the London reports of Japanese pressure on Siam are true, the crisis has intensified. The Siamese government agreed ten days ago to economic negotiations with the Japanese puppet, Manchukuo, and now there are signs that Siam is faced with the Tokyo demand for the use of military and naval bases plus access to the tin, rubber, and rice resources of the kingdom. In return the Japanese are supposed to be promising more Indo-Chinese territory. Most of Indo-China, it should be remembered, originally formed part of a Siamese kingdom, before the imperialists grabbed it away in the nineteenth century. Last January some sections of the rich Mekong River valley were returned to Siam after a brief struggle with the Vichy forces, and it is not improbable that in exchange for more territorial gains, the Siamese Bangkok regime would consider closer relations with Tokyo. The net effect, however, would mean bringing

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Nippon's armies to the borders of Burma and Malaya, that is, to the Indian Ocean and the rear lines of Singapore itself. The British have long held a certain hegemony in Siam, and they might now choose to stop any further Japanese pressure southward. Australian troops are known to have been brought to Malaya, well equipped and ready for action.

Meanwhile the United States has clamped down further on trade with Japan, this time prohibiting the shipment of gasoline above the 1936 quota, which means a reduction of about fifty percent in gasoline the Japanese will be able to get. But, as we pointed out last week, there's still no full embargo on trade with the Far Eastern member of the Axis. In permitting the Japanese steamer *Tatuta Maru* to land in San Francisco last week, Sumner Welles made it clear that trade would continue subject to license. That still leaves the way open to the kind of dickering that's still going on with Franco and with Marshal Petain. A complete embargo, and it's not yet too late, is the only way to thoroughly shake up and frighten the men at the helm of the waterlogged Japanese ship of state.

Soviet Morale

WAR casualty number one has been the myth of Nazi invincibility. War casualty number two has been the illusion that Soviet morale was one of the "imponderables" of the campaign. An interesting example of how this second illusion disintegrates in the face of reality was furnished by a cable sent to the New York *Times* last Sunday by its Moscow correspondent, Cyrus L. Sulzberger. Reading this cable, one senses that Mr. Sulzberger was in a pretty low frame of mind before reaching the Soviet border. He found the optimism of the Soviets a "pleasant surprise and refreshing relief to a visitor from gloomy, downtrodden Europe." Everybody was confident of victory —workers, army men, peasants, government officials. Wounded soldiers from the front invited the correspondent to accompany them soon on a victorious march to Berlin. Sulzberger found that food is plentiful, that train service is regular, that industry is going on without interruption.

And Mr. Sulzberger reports all this with the air of an exhausted man who has just been revived with a potent tonic. He is in effect saying: "My God, how we have been taken in by our own propaganda!" He shows that the Nazis have eagerly spread lies about Soviet weakness, and the *Times* reader can't help reflecting that he has been reading about nothing but weakness and more weakness in his morning newspaper for years. In fact, Mr. Sulzberger seems a little embarrassed at negating the legend which is of such long standing in his home office. He ends his dispatch by giving the impression that the superb confidence and unflinching morale of the Soviet people is somehow a "Slavic" trait. The absurdity of this conclusion is apparent in the fact that the "gloomy, downtrodden" area from which the correspondent sent his previous dispatches included Slavic countries under Nazi domination. And one must note that under the Czars—there were Slavs then too—the dominant tone of literature and the dominant impression of observers were that of gloom and pessimism.

No, Mr. Sulzberger is simply meeting for the first time the reality of a socialist society. "It is difficult to analyze the basic reasons for this optimistic frame of mind," says the reporter, with an obvious reluctance to face the truth. In any case, the universal testimony of firsthand observers in the Soviet Union today is reducing to a mockery the speculations of the "restaurant generals." The New York *Times* has already expressed "surprise" that Soviet tanks work, that Soviet military leaders think, and that Soviet workers eat. You can't go on surprising people forever. The game becomes tiresome.

He Must Be Freed

UNANIMOUSLY 2,500 members of a New York local of the United Radio, Electrical, and Machine Workers Union have demanded the release of Earl Browder from Atlanta penitentiary. The roster of unions and peoples' organizations taking such a stand grows impressively as they are realizing more and more that unity is essential in the struggle to destroy fascism. The leader of the Communist Party has consistently and unrelentingly fought the spread of fascism. Hitlerism has no more dangerous foe in this country. To keep him in prison is to weaken the struggle to defend our nation.

Squeezing Little Business

SIX corporations received 31.5 percent of all War and Navy Department contracts up to the end of May, according to a report of the research bureau of the Office of Production Management. These and fifty others received almost three-fourths of all defense contracts. Of the six that got the lion's share, two—General Motors and du Pont—are closely linked, while GM, in addition, is tied to Morgan, which is also influential in the corporation that heads the list, Bethelehem Steel.

This highlights a growing problem: the squeezing out of small business under the defense program. The prodigious research of the Temporary National Economic Committee has called attention to the advance of big business monopoly and pointed to the fascist implications of this phenomenon. Yet both here and in England defense programs that are supposed to be directed against fascism are accelerating the trend toward monopoly. In a general sense this development is inevitable under capitalism. In specific instances, however, it is possible to modify and curb monopolistic trends and strengthen the people's struggle against them. But when the defense program is in the hands of the monopolists themselves, as is the case in this country and in England, what else can be expected but the further fattening of the hogs? In the New York *Post* of July 24 Edward P. Flynn points out: "Both the big business men in the OPM and the New Dealers in the agency set up to control prices and allocate civilian supplies are inclined simply to take for granted that middle-sized American business is to be blighted. Most of the $1-a-year men at OPM come from corporations well loaded with defense orders. They have a minimum concern with the problems of smaller firms."

This is further underscored by a survey made by the National Small Business Men's Association which shows that while seventy-three percent of ninety-four small industrial plants in Illinois had applied for subcontracts in the defense program, less than one-third of the applications had been granted. Sixty-four percent of the companies believe they will be forced out of business unless they can secure defense contracts or materials for civilian production, and another seventeen percent will have to curtail production. The survey also shows that fully eighty-eight percent of these plants are adaptable, in whole or in part, to defense work.

The closing down of a large part of these factories will mean increased unemployment, the ruin of industrial towns, with consequent distress to farmers who supply these towns. But something more is at stake: the effectiveness of our whole defense drive. Who will maintain that the action of the Aluminum Co. of America and of certain OPM officials in preventing any competitors from entering the aluminum field has not done incalculable harm to the nation's defense? The same is true of other branches of production. In a letter the other day to Rep. John D. Dingell of Michigan, President Roosevelt declared: "I am vitally interested in preserving small business enterprises, and it would be most unfortunate if the defense program served in any way to stimulate monopoly and eliminate small business." The President wrote that he was passing on to the OPM Dingell's suggestion that manufacturers who are unable to obtain basic materials be certified to the OPM so that they may become eligible for a contract or subcontract. But it looks as if something more than suggestion-passing will have to be done to break the stranglehold of the big corporations on the national defense effort.

Georgia's Fascist

FUEHRER Talmadge of Georgia is democratic in at least one respect. When he decides to burn books, he doesn't go out and build a bonfire like one of your ordinary two-bit dictators. He submits a bill to the legislature—never mind about its being in his vestpocket—and he adorns himself with the panoply of due process, habeas corpus, pax vobiscum, and whatnot. The books to be burned, with all proper legal sanctity, include one called *We Sing America,* which tells of white and Negro children attending a school together, playing together, becoming friends and sharing a sandwich. The book has been distributed to libraries of Negro schools through the Rosenwald Fund. Why does a book like this get the governor hot under the collar? An interesting answer was provided in the streets of Charleston, S. C., the other day, where citizens booed an open Ku Klux Klan meeting so vigorously that it was practically

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forced to disband. A new spirit is abroad in the South, and Talmadge is out to crush it.

Genuine Americanism is having difficulty up north too. Pennsylvania's Board of Censors has banned two Soviet films, *The Red Army* and *The Soviet Frontier on the Danube*. Instead of hailing these films as evidence of the great fighting strength now arrayed against Hitler, the censors express fear that their showing might encourage "subversive groups." Actually, subversive groups like the Bund and the Christian Front would have the wind taken out of their sails by such pictures. While Harry Hopkins flies to Moscow, a group of arbitrary censors hobnobs with Hitler in the Keystone State. The citizens of Pennsylvania and the citizens of Georgia have a common cause for indignant action.

Price Control

THERE can be nothing but the strongest agreement with President Roosevelt's statement in his message on price control: "We are determined that the sacrifice of one shall not be the profit of another." This can be achieved only through a many-sided attack on profiteering and the monopoly grip on the nation's defense program. Undoubtedly, the regulation of prices is a most important element in the successful solution of this problem.

The new price-control bill introduced in Congress is on the whole a good measure. Under the bill the President, or any agency or official whom he designates, is given broad powers to establish ceilings on the prices of commodities, based on the level prevailing on or about July 29. Ceilings may also be placed on rents in defense areas. In regard to agricultural products the measure provides that no ceilings can be fixed below 110 percent of parity prices or the market prices prevailing on July 29. The bill specifically exempts wages from regulation, as well as common carrier and public utility rates (these are already regulated by federal and state agencies).

The price-control bill would be improved if rents in non-defense areas were also included. These have as yet risen only slightly, but they will tend to increase further unless checked. Control of installment credit, which the President requested in his message, should likewise be included. It is also questionable whether the entire complex price mechanism can be regulated from Washington. In actual practice it may be found necessary to set up supplementary local agencies directly responsible to the President. However, the bill itself is actually only a skeleton. Everything depends on the kind of flesh and blood with which it will be clothed—on how it will be enforced. It is not the small retailer who is ponsible for rising prices and the danger of nflation, any more than it is the small farmer. The big monopolies, which corner available stocks of raw materials and jack up prices of manufactured products, are the ones primarily to blame. In enforcing the bill the whole emphasis must be on curbing the selfish price- and rent-gouging of these monopolies which victimize not only the consuming public, but the farmer, the small merchant, and small investor as well. Particularly flagrant offenders are the food trusts that fleece farmer and consumer alike. And to assure proper enforcement the President should set up a democratic body to include representatives of the trade unions, farmers, and consumers' organizations.

Additional measures are also required. Excess profits are still not being effectively taxed; one of the shortcomings of the new tax bill is that it refuses to come to grips with this problem. The creation of artificial shortages by the monopolies and the failure of the government to press for expansion of all production, civilian as well as defense, are likewise major factors that contribute to the dangers against which the President warned. We feel he is entirely wrong when he declares that one of the solutions is the taxation of purchasing power. This is the kind of cure that may well prove worse than the disease. Official government statistics show that the majority of the American people are suffering from too little, not too much, purchasing power. Greatly expanded production, increased participation by labor in organizing and directing the defense program, regulation of monopoly prices, and stiffer taxation on large individual and corporate incomes—this is the kind of full-bodied program that can halt spiraling prices and end the nightmare of inflation.

Shortage "Crisis"

THE problem of shortages for the first time invaded the everyday lives of millions of average Americans during the past week. When gas could not be bought between 7 PM and 7 AM, when a ban on the processing of raw silk by non-defense industries threatened to make the silk stocking as obsolete as the dodo, Mr. and Mrs. America and their sons and daughters sat up and took notice. And they are asking questions: Are these measures absolutely necessary? Are they the best that could be devised? Is everything being done to cope with the attendant dislocations? Are further shortages inevitable? Could these particular ones have been prevented?

The problem of reducing shortages to a minimum is basically one of planning. In the case of gasoline, for example, the shortage is not in the commodity itself but in tankers to transport it from the Gulf. Because large numbers of these tankers have been turned over to Britain for defense purposes there are not enough to carry the gas required to feed all the motor vehicles in the Eastern states. Wasn't this shortage foreseen at the time the tankers were given to Britain? If it was, nothing was done about it. Had construction of pipelines been started immediately, they would be operating now or ready to begin carrying oil shortly. And no effort seems to have been made to knock down the rates of the railroad companies, which have the cars to transport a large part, if not all, of the oil for which tankers are lacking.

Bungling is further evident in the method of curtailing consumption. NEW MASSES urges its readers to cooperate with the government and refrain from purchasing gas between 7 PM and 7 AM. But at the same time we cannot blink the obvious: this measure curtails not gas (since almost all motorists are doing their buying during the day), but time. It may have some value psychologically, but its chief practical effect is to throw workers out of jobs. The curfew appears to be only the forerunner of actual rationing which, according to reports, will be started after Labor Day. If this becomes necessary, might it not be a good idea to give a voice to those who can be counted on to organize rationing in a truly democratic way—representatives of labor and the consuming public?

The silk ban has been necessitated by the government's restrictions on trade with Japan. Here too a little foresight and planning could have obviated at least part of the difficulties. Certainly, production of synthetic substitutes such as rayon and nylon could have been expanded long ago. Low supplies of a third commodity, scrap steel, are the result not merely of bad or non-existent planning, but of reactionary policies as well. This shortage, which may cut steel production ten percent, is directly due to appeasement of Japan; our own defense program pays the price for the fact that in eight years 25,000,000 tons of scrap steel were exported, mostly to Japan.

Planlessness is, of course, inherent in capitalism. In its grim war against Nazi Germany, the Soviet Union is reaping the fruits of the over-all planning of industrial and agricultural production made possible by its socialist system. But even under capitalism a larger measure of planful organization of production in the national interest can be introduced provided the selfish activities of predatory big business are curbed. The big obstacle is that the defense program has been turned over to those for whom profit, not production, is the supreme law, as is shown by Julian Webb in his article on page three of this issue.

In dealing with the problems created by the shutting off of silk supplies the CIO Textile Workers Union of America has already taken the initiative and brought forward a series of practical proposals. The TWUA urges various measures that will make possible a large scale expansion of the output of synthetic yarns to substitute for silk. For the protection of the 175,000 workers who are threatened with loss of jobs, the union proposes that the government institute a relief plan to supplement the inadequate unemployment compensation benefits. We are happy to note that Leon Henderson, federal price administrator, has announced that an advisory panel, which will include representatives of labor and the consumers, will be appointed to consider future adjustments. But it would be far better if this panel were given real power instead of being merely advisory. The shortages in oil, silk, and scrap steel underline the urgent need of overhauling the entire defense program and reorganizing it along the lines proposed by CIO Pres. Philip Murray in his plan for joint management-labor industrial councils.

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EPIC OF THE DON

In its sweep and grandeur Sholokhov's monumental work illuminates the spirit of the Soviet people. Samuel Sillen begins a series on "The Silent Don" and its significance.

THE SILENT DON, *comprising two volumes:* AND QUIET FLOWS THE DON *and* THE DON FLOWS HOME TO THE SEA, *by Mikhail Sholokhov. A. A. Knopf. Vol. 1, $3. Vol. 2, $3.50. The set, boxed, $6.*

THERE is a stroke of historical justice in the fact that the completed American edition of Mikhail Sholokhov's masterpiece appears at this moment. For *The Silent Don,* in its epic grandeur and reverent humanity, illuminates the spirit of the Soviet peoples. The anti-Nazi war is shattering illusions, sedulously built up by anti-Soviet propagandists, concerning the morale, leadership, purpose, and military might of the Soviet Union. And *The Silent Don* will shatter equally persistent illusions concerning Soviet art. Contrary to the myth of "artists in uniform," contrary to the myth of repression and regimentation, here is a monumental work of literary art whose beauty, scope, and strength must be universally celebrated wherever fine literature is loved. Sholokhov's novel is the exalted artistic expression of that faith in a free and beautiful life which has welded the people of his land into the indestructible unity of socialism.

This work, wrote Gorky shortly before his death, can only be compared with Tolstoy's *War and Peace.* The comparison is inevitable for more than one reason. Tolstoy's immortal novel reconstructed the whole epoch from 1805 to 1812, the period of storm and strife which culminated in Napoleon's ignominious retreat from Moscow. On a similarly broad canvas Sholokhov depicts the era which begins in 1914 with the participation of the Russian armies in the World War, takes a fateful turn in the Socialist Revolution of November 1917, runs its course of conflict through the period of foreign military intervention and civil war from 1918 to 1920, and ends with the victory of the Soviet Government over its counter-revolutionary enemies at home and abroad.

In both novels the events of history are imaginatively integrated with the personalities who participate in these events; the interaction of social and human forces is complete. Sholokhov, like Tolstoy, exercises consummate skill and restraint in portraying his characters objectively, viewing life always as it was felt and understood, in all its dramatic immediacy, by the characters themselves. Both writers exhibit the same astonishing range of human types representing different social strata, beliefs, temperaments. And in *The Silent Don,* as in *War and Peace,* the colorful profusion of scenes does not obscure or interrupt but rather enriches the underlying continuity of theme; the resourceful multiplication of characters does not prevent anyone from emerging with his unmistakable individuality and his distinct role in the narrative.

TO NOTE these parallels, important as they are, is only to clear the ground for a discussion of *The Silent Don* and its significance for the literature of our time. The differences between the two epics are equally impressive. It would be futile to discuss the superiority or inferiority of one book to the other, for the qualities of thought and sensibility which distinguish each are rooted in quite different epochs. If Tolstoy's novel achieved the highest reaches of progressive art in the nineteenth century, Sholokhov's illustrates the new horizons of life opened up in our own period. His work is permeated with a Marxist understanding of the vast and contradictory forces which he portrays. He is occupied with the behavior of human beings in a period of the most complex and momentous social upheaval in history, and it is his sure analysis of that upheaval which enables him to avoid the opposite errors of schematism and indecision. His major characters are the men and women of the folk. He places in the center of his picture the Cossacks of the Don region, a people, as we shall see, who had an unusually intricate relationship to the social transition from czarism to socialism. Imbued with a profound compassion, he creates a new type of tragedy in which the stark and irrevocable fact of death is treated in a meaningful historical matrix rather than in bleak abstraction. And if he knows how much the world has been sullied and poisoned and how much misery has been poured out under capitalism, he can make one of his characters speak with confidence of a future that one could hear above the din of battle as a magically beautiful music, "not a separate, slender melody, but a mighty, growing, perfectly harmonized hymn."

In the forging of that future Mikhail Sholokhov has himself taken an active part. His career illustrates the new type of writer and the new conception of literature which have been created in the Soviet Union. Sholokhov was born in 1905, the year of the first Russian Revolution, in the Cossack hamlet of Krushlino near Veshenskaya, where he now resides. The village of Veshenskaya stands on the very shore of the Don River, and this neighborhood, known and loved so deeply by the author, is the scene of much of the action in *The Silent Don.* The village square on which the Cossacks mustered for their marches, as described in the novel, is now a small park with an obelisk over the common grave of those who died for the Revolution. Today, cables Sholokhov from Veshenskaya, mobilized Red Army men and those seeing them off are hurrying to the square, filled with cold fury for the aggressor.

SHOLOKHOV'S FATHER came to the Cossack land from the Ryazan province in Russia. His mother was half Cossack and half peasant, a woman of strong character who learned to read and write in order to correspond with her son. Native to Sholokhov was the Cossack tongue, which the Soviet writer Serafimovich describes as "vivid, pungent, colorful, with its bright imagery and unexpected idioms—the language which blossomed so magically in his [Sholokhov's] writings where the life of the Cossacks is so powerfully depicted." In 1920, at the age of fifteen, Sholokhov left school to enter the Red Army. For two years he took part in food requisition work, fought the kulaks who hid their stores of grain, and routed the bandits who operated on the Don until 1922. When the civil war abated, Sholokhov began to write. His earliest work appeared in the publications of the Young Communist League, of which he was then a member. His first published volume, *Tales of the Don,* appeared in 1925 and was greeted warmly by the Soviet critics. The following year, at the age of twenty-one, he started work on *The Silent Don.* His work on this book was held up by work on another novel, dealing with the period of collectivization, the first part of which appeared in this country as *Seeds of Tomorrow.*

Many American readers may be astonished to learn that this thirty-six-year-old author can celebrate not only the fact that his book has been read by several millions in the Soviet Union, but that he has been elected to represent his district in the highest legislative council of the country, the Supreme Soviet. In a world where thousands of writers live in exile, perish in concentration camps, or starve in obscurity, it is inspiring to contemplate such facts. His active work in the Veshensk District Committee of the Communist Party and in the life of his community, Sholokhov told an interviewer, enriched him as a writer and furnished material for creative work. His native steppeland has not been for him a retreat. We learn that he has been instrumental in founding a Cossack theater in Veshenskaya, that he talks frequently in nearby factory halls and library forums on literature and Cossack history, that he carries on a voluminous correspondence with his readers. In addition to the warm response of his millions of readers, Sholokhov has been

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Mikhail Sholokhov

rewarded for his work by election to the Soviet Academy of Sciences and by being given the Stalin Prize of 100,000 rubles.

The central theme of *The Silent Don* is the conflict between two powerful impulses in Cossack life and the intense form which this conflict takes under the impact of revolution and civil war. Before the Revolution, the Cossacks were exploited by the Czarist autocracy as a military police patrol over the people. The Cossacks were known to the outside world for their ruthless suppression of strikes and their rabid anti-Semitism, instigated by their Czarist rulers. To encourage them in this repressive function, everything was done to instill in the Cossacks a feeling of superiority over the peasants and workers. As a military caste they were granted land allotments and certain privileges. They were retained as bodyguards of the Czar. They were taught a narrowly nationalistic devotion to their *Ataman,* or local Cossack leader. They were awarded crosses and medals for their valor in war. And as a result, one side of Cossack life was characterized by a great pride in caste status and a strong sense of loyalty to the crown.

But there was another side, characterized by an intense love of freedom and an underlying recognition that the Cossack people were only the lackeys of the Czar to be thrown into war at his convenience. In times of peace there was hard agricultural work to be done. The poor Cossack could observe the superior status of the wealthy merchant or the prosperous landowner in his village. There was a latent desire for independence from the Russian princes.

Soon after the opening of the first volume, *And Quiet Flows the Don,* the reader perceives the deep divisions which exist among the Cossacks themselves, divisions which, though obscure at first, are to grow into a deep gulf by the time the second volume is finished. On the one hand, there are characters like the quick-witted and corpulent merchant Mokhov who squeezes the village of Tatarsk. Every hut is indebted to him. He employs nine men at his steam flour-mill and a number of others in his shop. There is a rich landowner like Listnitsky, a retired general, who lives on his fine estate at Yagodnoe, eight miles from Tatarsk, with his officer son, Eugene. And there is the kulak Miron Korshunov, whose son Mitka is to prove one of the most brutal and unconscionable enemies of the Communists. On the other hand, there are characters like Ivan Kotliarov, an engineman at Mokhov's mill, or Valet, another employee of Mokhov's, or young Misha Koshevoi, who are destined to take a loyal place by the side of the Soviet regime.

In the days before the outbreak of war in 1914, these rifts among the people of Tatarsk are hidden. It will take the shock and exhaustion and misery of a three-and-a-half year imperialist war before they can deepen. In those earlier days, there comes to the village of Tatarsk a locksmith named Stockman, a member of the Russian Social-Democratic Labor Party since 1907. A group of the villagers meets in his room and, after careful selection and testing, Stockman begins to clarify their lives and to awaken their repugnance toward the existing system. There is opposition to be overcome, the opposition of ignorance and distrust. Kotliarov, who is later to be forged into a Bolshevik, is steeped in Cossack traditions, and he speaks with contempt of the peasants: "They're peasants, made of bast and stuffed with brushwood." He is later to recall the words of Stockman: "The Cossacks are conservative to the backbone. Don't forget that when you are trying to convince one of them of the truth of the Bolshevist ideas, but act cautiously, thoughtfully, and adapt yourself to the situation. At first they will be as contemptuous of you as you and Misha Koshevoi were of me, but don't let that trouble you. Chisel away stubbornly—the final success is ours."

BUT THE CENTRAL CHARACTER of the novel is not to be an older Russian Bolshevik like Stockman, or a newer generation of Cossack Bolsheviks like Ivan Alexievich Kotliarov and

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Misha Koshevoi, or a determined White like Eugene Listnitsky and Mitka Korshunov. Such characters achieve full clarity of position in the course of the novel. As they develop, they pursue a relatively unveering course to their antagonistic goals; they are either for the Revolution or against it. The central figure is rather a Cossack who more fully reflects the opposite pulls of his society. Gregor Melekhov is torn by a conflict of personal loyalties just as his land is torn by civil war. He struggles between two elements, rejecting both. He fights at one time with the Reds, at another with the Whites, and at no time with complete assurance that he is on the right side.

Sholokhov has given us a remarkable portrait of Gregor. His characterization has nothing in common with the indecisive Hamlet-type so familiar in nineteenth century Russian fiction. Far from being an intellectual sicklied o'er with the pale cast of thought, he is capable of great and robust action. He is a fighter of tremendous skill and daring. If he is capable of pity, he can also give expression to the most savage and fiery outbursts of temperament. Sholokhov has shown him as neither a culprit nor a model to be followed. "Life's taken a false turn," says Gregor at one point, "and maybe I'm at fault in that too. . . ." His guilt is not the morbid and febrile guilt of a Dostoevskian hero. His is rather the tragedy of a man whose stubborn pride is coupled with ignorance of the reality which he is striving to penetrate. Unable to survive his prejudices, he brings to ruin those whom he loves most dearly and cooperates bitterly with those whom he despises.

But to understand Gregor fully, one must see him in his unfolding relation to the other characters, his family, his beloved Aksinia, and his comrades in various struggles. This rich and complex relationship will be discussed in a second article next week.

SAMUEL SILLEN.

Whose Truths?

WE HOLD THESE TRUTHS, *edited by Stuart Gerry Brown. Harper & Bros. $1.50.*

THIS book consists of a 3,000-word essay by the editor on "The Meaning of Democracy," followed by forty-four selections described as "Documents of American Democracy." Mr. Brown's essay emasculates democracy's meaning by insisting that it pertains only to political forms (i.e., permitting a more or less unrestricted choice between Harding and Cox, Coolidge and Davis, Roosevelt and Willkie) instead of the purposes, controlling elements, means, and functions of the governing apparatus.

Half the book is devoted to the utterances of such great "democrats" as Chief Justice Roger Taney, of Dred Scott notoriety; John Marshall, for whom the protection of private property rights was *the* function of government; James G. Blaine, a corrupt politician who, in an era of unparalleled political corruption, had no superior; Theodore Roosevelt; Woodrow Wilson; and John C. Calhoun.

Obvious milestones in the field of American political democracy, such as the Declaration of Independence, inaugural addresses by Jefferson, Jackson, and Lincoln and the Gettysburg Address are, of course, included. And there are other valuable, though less familiar, documents—such as Jefferson's letter on natural aristocracy, a piece from Whitman's *Democratic Vistas,* and the concluding section of Thomas Wolfe's *You Can't Go Home Again.* But Mr. Brown has included nothing from labor, from women, from the Negro, from radical political groups and parties. Whose "truths" are we to hold—those of Roger Taney or Frederick Douglass? John Marshall or Thomas Skidmore? James G. Blaine or Albert Parsons? Theodore Roosevelt or Bartolomeo Vanzetti? Woodrow Wilson or Eugene Debs? John C. Calhoun or William Lloyd Garrison? The second-named individuals are the people's champions, the fighters for the American dream. The former are tinsel gods whose opinions have no place in a book that includes the utterances of Paine and Jefferson and Lincoln.

HERBERT APTHEKER.

The Betrayal of France

FRANCE MY COUNTRY. *Through the Disaster, by Jacques Maritain. Longmans, Green & Co. $1.25.*

CLEAR and valuable admissions are contained in this account of France's fall by her leading Catholic philosopher, now in exile here. The French ruling class wanted "revenge for the days of February 1934, and for the great scare of the sitdown strikes." Its triumph was the defeat of France. Petain, a friend of Franco, thought that salvation lay in a Catholic-dictatorial regime. His dispensation to "his" people is a pseudo-medieval tyranny that has dealt the Catholic conscience a strong blow.

The rulers' fear and contempt for the people led to the treasonable surrender and its consolidation in the present order. Maritain cleverly comments upon the desire of the leaders of the "liberal" and Social-Democratic parties to "merit the esteem and regard of the social strata represented by the right." The workers' inability to oust this petit bourgeois leadership, which was afraid of power and wanted to bribe the enemy with good behavior, helped make it possible for the initiative to be seized by reaction.

The military disaster became, in a sense, the form taken by the political betrayal. The substitution of Belgian neutrality for a fortification of the northern border, and the strategy of a "cheap war" were the preliminary groundwork of the "miscalculating" generals who forgot to blow up bridges when they retreated. It foreshadows the decision of the temporary masters of France who preferred the "honorable peace" offered them by Hitler, because, as they declared with breathtaking cynicism, they were afraid that a puppet

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government might be set up in their absence.

Maritain's admiration for the French workers and farmers is summed up in his remark that "It is the privilege of the humble folk alone to be great in the midst of total disaster." He describes their effort to rebuild as best they can under the fist of the enemy and the senile rancor of their appointed guardian, but hints that a day must come when rebuilding is not enough, when they must rise against their native and foreign oppressors.

It is unfortunate that Maritain should be misled by the same demagogy which was used by German agents like Bonnet and Doriot to disrupt the unity of the French people against fascism. He states, with no factual evidence whatsoever, that the workers were demoralized by Communism, and attacks the Popular Front. As for the campaign in France, even the New York *Times* was obliged to record the bravery of Communists at the front. And every week brings new stories of anti-Nazi underground work conducted by the Communist Party.

Mr. Maritain is much fairer to his foes. In a burst of unpolitical generosity he imagines that pity for the suffering people entered into the traitors' scheme to capitulate. Sooner say that the jackals show pity for the deer when they let the lion eat first.

CHARLES HUMBOLDT.

Brief Review

MEN OF WEALTH, *by John T. Flynn. Simon & Schuster. $3.75.*

In a subtitle John T. Flynn describes his *Men of Wealth* as "The story of twelve significant fortunes from the Renaissance to the present day." In a preface more than usually expansive (if not in words, certainly in promises), Mr. Flynn says he will paint "a picture of the economic system" of the time in which lived each of his twelve figures ranging from Fugger through Vanderbilt, Mitsui, Zaharoff, Rockefeller, and Morgan. But somehow Mr. Flynn fails to live up to his promises. He is content for the large part to describe his villains as men with one characteristic in common—a lust for accumulation, for money for the sake of money. All of them succeed because they are above ethical considerations, because, to put it as bluntly as does Mr. Flynn, they are dishonest in the grand manner. But nowhere do the times and social backgrounds emerge. Mr. Flynn's economics remain oversimple, devoted to the proposition that the New Deal was just as bad as Alf Landon said it was, and that the ills of evil capitalism can be cured by some sort of reformed capitalism never described. The only figure for whom Mr. Flynn has any praise is Robert Owen, eighteenth century reformer. The rest are worthless buccaneers, distinguished only for their greed. It is worth mentioning that when Mr. Flynn discusses the Rothschild family, he indulges in more than a suggestion of anti-Semitism. *Men of Wealth* makes pretty tiresome reading that never gets any place.

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NO BOOK on modern music, so far as I know, lists Louis Armstrong, the great Negro trumpeter, as a composer. Yet some day the records he made ten and fifteen years ago will be placed among the highly important contributions to American music. Not available for many years, these records are now being reissued, and I envy those who will hear them for the first time. The album of records by Armstrong and his Hot Five, recently pressed by Columbia in its series of "Jazz Classics" reissues, contains typical examples of the early blues jazz.

The blues are an American folk music whose importance is only now being fully understood. When they first became popular, in the twenties, the blues were regarded as erotically suggestive in both words and music. Yet blues songs did not go beyond the frankness which can be found in any folk art. Their content resulted in part from the demoralizing effect of poverty and exploitation upon Negro family life, and also from the fact that most Southern Negro singers and musicians of that time could not get jobs except in "less respectable" places of entertainment—a phase of Southern city life supported by white politicians. Besides, owners of the recording companies and cabarets were exploiting the market for eroticism. The businessman who hired blues singers and musicians to perform "what would sell," at the same time censored the bitter social content of the music.

Nevertheless, the blues had a simplicity of structure and sincerity of emotion which lifted them far above most of the sentimental ballads of the twenties. Most important, they were perfect for instrumental jazz improvisation since their short, poignant phrases could be woven into innumerable complex, exciting patterns.

Many jazz musicians then, both white and Negro, improvised imaginatively and feelingly upon the blues. In Armstrong, however, ideas flowed so freely, with each "chorus" a development of the one before, that the music attained a tighter unity, a greater resemblance to a complex, thought-out, "written" composition. The music was still partly a collective creation. Yet there is no contradiction between such collective work and artistic unity (as can be seen by studying the folk art of the Middle Ages, for example). The musicians Armstrong worked with, such as Johnny Dodds, Jay Higginbotham, "Kid" Ory, all "spoke the blues" as a natural language, giving Armstrong ideas and backing up his most imaginative flights with perfect taste. The record of "S. O. L. Blues" listed below, in which Armstrong provides a searing climax to Dodds' blues solo on clarinet, is a perfect example of such fine collective composition.

The trumpet style created by Armstrong, while new to jazz, was basically only an adaptation of structural forms implicit in instrumental blues jazz. One of these forms was the interweaving of two melodic lines, the small band "counterpoint" so natural to the blues. Armstrong's trumpet style suggested a two-voice counterpoint, playing a "lead" melody and accompanying arpeggios and decorative figures at the same time (in the manner, for instance, in which Bach, Handel, and Vivaldi wrote for violin). Fine examples are the succession of trumpet choruses in "Knockin' a Jug," "Twelfth St. Rag," and "Tight Like This," and the affectionate adornments of the melody in "Squeeze Me" and "Basin St. Blues." (The last-named is one of the finest blues-inspired tunes of the twenties.) Another basic device was the "riff," the constant repetition of a short blues phrase to tie a performance together. This is the structure of "St. Louis Blues" and "Mahogany Hall Stomp," in which the melody gradually resolves itself into the pounding, climactic insistence upon a single figure.

Armstrong's decline as a composer came when the conditions for jazz performance banished the style and content of the small band blues. Today he is as great a master of the trumpet as ever, but the sentimental tunes and large-band harmonies are a barrier to free creation, just as the blues and small band improvisation were an inspiration. The records listed below are only a sampling of his finest work, much of which is still not available. They are not only a monument to the "golden age" of jazz, but splendid music in their own right, revealing the possibilities of jazz in a future when musical creation is less dominated by the market and the businessmen who run it.

Columbia's album of records by Louis Armstrong and his Hot Five contains typical examples of the early blues jazz. The recording itself is acoustically poor, dating from 1925, and I have heard finer blues tunes than some of these. But everyone interested in jazz should own at least the discs containing "Skid-Dat-De-Dat," "Muskrat Ramble," and "Cornet Chop Suey," and play them through a dozen times.

"Skid-Dat-De-Dat" is a summation of the instrumental blues. The opening choruses, with trumpet, clarinet, and trombone weaving together and apart, are a perfect example of the "ensemble" texture, partly harmonic, partly contrapuntal, which makes this blues jazz at once restrained and moving. Equally fine are Johnny Dodds' clarinet answers to Armstrong's comic vocal, and Louis' simple, touching cornet phrases at the close. This kind of music takes careful listening, but will reward anybody who gives it proper attention. "Muskrat Ramble" is a fine, jolly, exuberant "rag" featuring Kid Ory's driving, rough "folk style" trombone. "Cornet Chop Suey" is a perfect example of a performance built out of "stop-time" and "breaks," the shattering, powerful arpeggios which were an integral part of the developing blues style for trumpet.

Other Armstrong records in the Columbia series of Hot Jazz Reissues are: "Knockin' a Jug," "Twelfth St. Rag," "S. O. L. Blues," "Squeeze Me," "Mahogany Hall Stomp," and "Beau Koo Jack." You might also throw in Bessie Smith's "Cold in Hand Blues," with Louis on cornet. The following may be found on either Vocalion or the new Okeh label: "St. Louis Blues," "Basin St. Blues," "Tight Like This." (The Columbia records are fifty cents, the Okeh thirty-five.)

MARTIN MACK.

Disney Disappoints

The Grahame fable is twisted into a blurb for the Disney Studio.

Now that the reluctant Disney has consented to bargain collectively with his employees of the Screen Cartoonists Guild, the public may conscientiously see his latest picture, *The Reluctant Dragon*. What they will get is a glorious disappointment on almost any score. For the new feature-length production is a glorified trailer celebrating the life and works of Walt Disney, with the Kenneth Grahame fable running about twenty minutes at the end of the celebration.

The whole thing comes at a moment of supreme irony, for the subject matter of the film is intended to demonstrate to the audience what a fine, successful man is Mr. Disney, what a magnificent plant he possesses for the production of his animated cartoons (it sure is), and what a great and happy little family collaborates with him in these productions.

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Therefore the gods of Hollywood and all points east must still be holding their sides when they contemplate the strange fact that this man Disney has been paying his host of ingenious people wages averaging around fifteen and twenty dollars a week, and after much reluctance has finally been brought to heel by the union members in collective bargaining assembled.

But you may take a look at Mr. Disney's plant—it is enormous. If you take it all at face value, you will want to work there, for all the working girls are as beautiful as Central Casting can manage to make them. All the young men who make the cartoons and animate them are smiling and handsome. And not only are all these people utterly charming (they probably are at that), but so contented and happy with their landscaped factory, their art life-classes, and their air-conditioned sweatshop that you would never think they wanted more than twenty dollars a week for the simple tasks they perform.

Let it go. *The Reluctant Dragon* takes you on a conducted tour of Disney Productions in the genial company of funny-faced Robert Benchley. For purposes of "plot" it is Mr. Benchley's screen wife who wants him to sell Walt the idea of filming the Kenneth Grahame children's story about the dragon who did not want to breathe smoke and fire, but was an earlier Ferdinand; and the knight, Sir Giles, who would rather drink tea than kill dragons; and the disappointed little boy who finally arranged a setup so the terrified villagers would feel that their champion, Sir Giles, was not being remiss in liberating them from the scourge.

It is a charming story, but it is scarcely made more charming by changing the dragon from Grahame's original—who was a poet—to the peculiar conception of a male homosexual. In fact, you will probably find it revolting.

These things are not incidental phenomena. It's true that during the conducted tour you learn something—too little—of the way cartoons are animated and technicolored, and you will see one beautiful satirical short that is worth the price of admission (if the price is small). That is the job called *How to Ride a Horse*—it is a scream. But you will also see other evidences of the sort of insensitivity that made Mr. Disney so reluctant to bargain with his employees. One sequence occurs in a sound studio, where Mr. Benchley listens to an orchestra warming up on the overture to *Martha*. Enter a lady of advanced age, who is about to sing. Benchley, on learning her name, remarks that he has heard her sing at the Metropolitan. He settles back, anticipating a few moments of charming classical music sung by an accomplished soprano. You will therefore be appropriately embarrassed when this lady, who obviously has a trained voice and has seen better days, is exhibited in public singing an aria *as though she were a hen*. It is nearly heart-breaking, and it is an index of the producer's taste as well as his sensitivity.

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It will astonish you to see how far the films have gone in the matter of technique and story. Last week I saw *Male and Female,* an early Gloria Swanson opus (1919), and the news that Miss Swanson is currently making a comeback is nothing less than staggering. But if you can quell your amusement at the primitive efforts displayed (and place the film in the right historical perspective) you will learn a great deal about the development of film technique and the subject matter emphases that were preferred, during certain years, by the ruling minds of the industry. The Modern Museum has built up an imposing documentary record of our times.

CORRECTION: In last week's issue I referred to Dr. A. J. Cronin's *Hatter's Castle* as a movie that exposed certain things in the medical profession; the movie I had in mind was *The Citadel,* from Dr. Cronin's book of the same title.

ALVAH BESSIE.

Hitler's Soothsayer

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IT TAKES either rare impudence and conceit, a profound contempt for the intelligence of the radio audience, or both, to dish out the kind of soothsaying stuff Wythe Williams gives us in his "news" broadcasts over the Mutual network. Williams, it would seem after you listen to him, runs a service that deals in sureshot tips on world affairs. Do you want to know what Il Duce said to Der Fuehrer at their last kaffee klatch? Or what will happen at next Tuesday's meeting of the British Cabinet? Tune in, folks, Williams knows.

His insight into military affairs is so unique that it can be classified only as godlike. He whispers into a few million ears what equipment the Nazi army has, when and how they will use it, and similar important military data miraculously acquired at long distance. An even more impressive feat is his frequent report on where Hitler has spent the day. It is unfortunate that neither the British nor Soviet General Staff has sufficient enterprise to listen to Wythe Williams, since he can give them the information which would enable them to drop a bombload on Adolph's headquarters.

Williams is virulent in his animosity toward the Soviet Union. He blandly admits on the air that he always gives more credence to Nazi military claims. Even DNB cannot demolish the Red Army at a faster rate, or outdo him in funeral services for the USSR. Accepting Nazi boasts as fact, he rhapsodizes over "German masterpieces of strategy. . . ."

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GOINGS ON

MARXIST ANALYSIS OF THE WEEK'S NEWS by Ben J. Davis, Jr., member Daily Worker editorial board, Aug. 10, 8:30 P. M., Workers School, 50 E. 13 Street. Admission 25 cents.

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Where did Williams get the crystal ball? Sixty years old, he spent over two decades as a reporter abroad for such publications as the New York *Times* and the *Saturday Evening Post,* and finally as chief London correspondent for the Hearst papers. This experience might rate him a few seasons of lecturing on world affairs to suburban women's clubs. It does not qualify him for his self-assumed role of radio's Delphic Oracle. Nor does it justify his leadership of the copy paper generals. His military experience is nil. Williams is clammouthed about the secret of his journalistic omniscience. His sensational predictions and revelations are prefaced simply and smugly with the phrase "*I* have learned . . ." or "According to *my* information . . ." There is never any documentation.

When he returned to the United States in 1936, Williams started a small Connecticut daily called *Greenwich Time,* and managed to attract some national attention with his lively gossip about the Nazis. He gave the paper up when he discovered a profitable business in news necromancy over the airwaves.

Radio has given this bush league Nostradamus command of a large audience. Three times a week he tells all for the benefit of the American Safety Razor Co., through 100 Mutual Broadcasting stations, the largest network of any sponsored commentator. Just as the complexity and impact of world events during the last few years stimulated the sale of glamorous foreign-correspondent books, it boomed radio news programs and commentaries. The people are hungry for authoritative information, for some rational key to understanding foreign affairs. But what they get mostly from the radio is a Wythe Williams. Our system of broadcasting makes it possible to accept a man as an authority merely because he is on the air.

Occasionally, one of Williams' generalized prophecies comes true, and he crows about it. Fortunately for him the duds are quickly forgotten. Many of his "scoops" are irrefutable: if Williams announces that Hitler checked in at Brest-Litovsk that afternoon and had two helpings of *sauerbraten* for supper, who can prove him wrong?

Asked to set up a definition of news that would distinguish it from propaganda, Williams once proclaimed: "News is the word seen through a sheet of clear glass—events moving with truth and clarity. . . . Propaganda is the distortion of events all out of focus, the word seen through murky glasses covered with the mud of concealment plastered there to confuse the eye of the people to what is really going on." A bit flowery perhaps, but the great prophet unconsciously labeled his own work.

IMPORTANT ANNOUNCEMENT: Broadcasting stations pay more attention to complaints than you think. When you hear Nazi-slanted news or talks on the air, write a letter about it (much better than a postcard!) immediately to the station or network.

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